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January 1 we answered the challenge of interest and profit margin. Today in answer to many agents who felt as "J. H. L." did, we are producing a NEW CHICAGO DEFENDER with more news, new cartoons, new features, and easier to read type. But the real news is that agents' profits on each paper are doubled. When J.H.L. heard the good news he tried again. Now he finds his customers eager to buy. He increased his order from 100 to 200 copies. His margin of profit has doubled.

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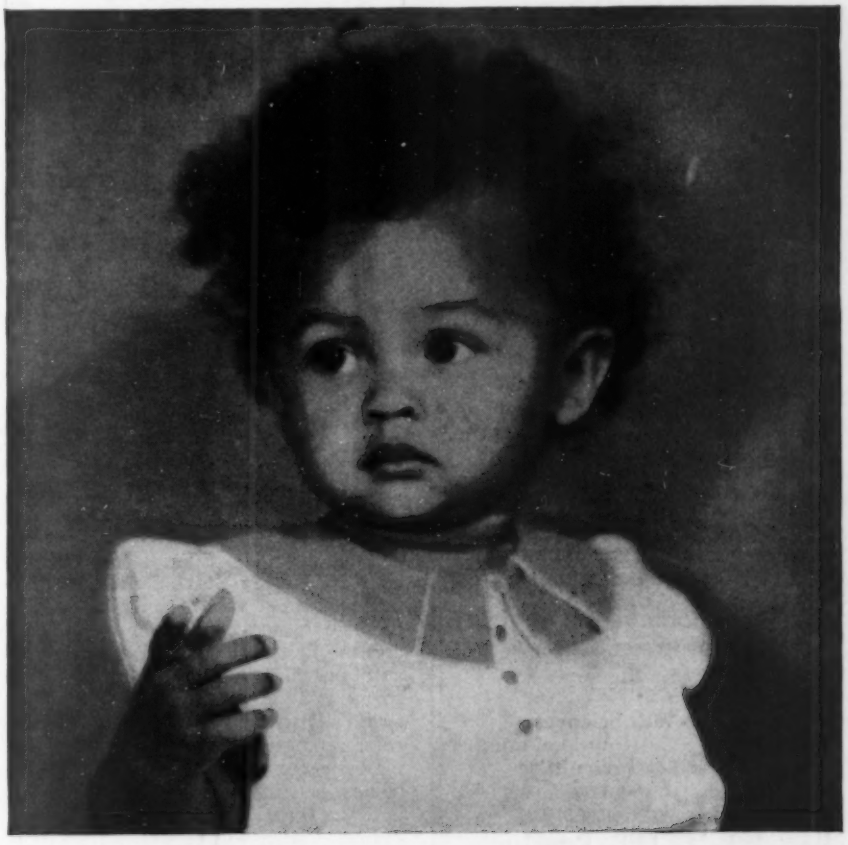
Beautiful Child Contest



COLORED children are conceded to be among the most beautiful in the world by unbiased observers. Here in the United States, where most colored children are of African, Caucasian and Amerindian descent in varying degree, they present a veritable flower garden of beauty, a preview of the human race of the future.

THE CRISIS believes this young beauty should be fittingly revealed to the world. To this end we call upon the proud parents of colored America to cooperate with us in our Beautiful Child Contest which began May 1, 1940 and closes August 1, 1940.

Send in NOW the photograph of YOUR beautiful child, accompanied by the entry blank appearing in THE CRISIS. You may secure a copy of THE CRISIS containing the entry blank by sending fifteen cents in stamps to: THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York. CHILDREN YOUNGER THAN THREE AND OLDER THAN TWELVE YEARS NOT ELIGIBLE. Entry blank appears on another page.

A slick finish, large size photograph is preferable because it will reproduce better.

Each month's issue (July and August) will contain photographs of the most beautiful child so far selected and the five next most beautiful, for which $1.00 each will be paid.

Then, in our September, 1940 issue will appear the grand prize winner, and the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth choices selected from ALL photographs submitted before the deadline, August 1, 1940. These prizes will be: $25 for the grand prize, $10 for second choice, $5 for third choice, $3 for fourth choice, $2 for fifth choice and $1 for sixth choice.

Photographs will NOT be returned unless accompanied by return postage and self-addressed container. Photographs postmarked *after midnight, August 1*, will not be considered.

The photograph of the grand prize winner will appear on the cover of the September 1940 issue of THE CRISIS, out September 1, 1940. It will also be given the maximum publicity throughout the nation.

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College and School News

New courses inaugurated at **Wiley College** are "Types of Economic Institutions" dealing with Utopian forerunners of modern socialism, with the nature of capitalistic institutions and with present theories and practices of socialism, fascism and communism; and "bacteriology" which enables students majoring in biology to thoroughly prepare themselves for advanced study.

Dean of Women Miss E. Beulah Winston of **Tougaloo College** was recently elected corresponding secretary of the National Association of Deans and Advisers to Girls in Negro Schools.

Tougaloo's Commencement speaker on June 4 was Herbert King, Associate Secretary, National Student Y.M.C.A.

The Carnegie Corporation has awarded **Fort Valley State College** a magnificent art set valued at $5,000, one of the five Negro institutions so honored and the first to a publicly supported institution. The set consists of 2074 photographs and reproductions of the world's great art works, with 45 fine color reproductions of the world's great masterpieces of painting. It also includes several portfolios and over 200 books covering the entire field of art.

Fort Valley will establish a series of traveling exhibits for Negro rural and urban schools within a radius of 50 miles. The larger reproductions will also be loaned to dormitory rooms.

Dr. G. L. Harrison was inaugurated president of **Langston University** on May 5 when Oklahoma's governor Leon C. Phillips handed him the key of authority. President Harrison has administered the affairs of Langston since last January. He was until recently director of the department of education at Prairie View State College. He previously held similar posts at West Virginia State College and at Virginia Union University. He also served a four-year term on the Board of Regents of Wilberforce University.

After an absence of 15 years, Dr.

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John A. Kenney has returned to **Tuskegee Institute** as Medical Director of the John A. Andrew Clinical Society, and its Secretary-Treasurer.

Samuel P. Gilman, a New York city attorney, has been named president of "The Friends of Lincoln University" (Penna.). He is a member of the Lincoln Board of Trustees. Another member of the Board, J. Frederick Talcott, also of New York City, has been named treasurer, and Dr. Collins P. Bliss, Dean-Emeritus of the College of Engineering of New York University, is secretary.

This organization to aid **Lincoln University** (Pa.) has a membership of 265, including many citizens prominent in public and civic life, and was organized at a luncheon given by Mr. Gilman at the Bankers Club in New York City last October.

West Virginia has appropriated $150,000 for the construction and equipment of a health and physical education building at **West Virginia State College.** The structure will be of brick with stone trim to match other campus buildings. It will be two stories of Tudor design and contain gymnasiums large enough to accommodate two basketball games played simultaneously. The seating capacity is 2,000. There will also be three smaller gymnasiums for girls designed for various indoor games, dancing and corrective exercises. There will also be a swimming pool 30 by 75 feet meeting all A.A.U. standards for intercollegiate competition. A large suite of offices will be available for use of doctors and the health unit.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard University was Commencement Speaker on June 3.

Robert Ogden Purves, treasurer and vice-president of **Hampton Institute,** has been elected member of the Board of Trustees.

Dr. David D. Jones, president of Bennett College, delivered the 59th commencement address at **Spelman College.** Fifty-three seniors, Spelman's largest graduating class, were awarded degrees: 43 Bachelors of Art and 10 Bachelors of Science. Highest honors in the class were won by Alma Westine Stone of Savannah, Ga.

First student to fly solo in the C.A.A. program at **Howard University** was Yancey Williams who passed his flight examination on May 6. On April 24 he passed the written examination in

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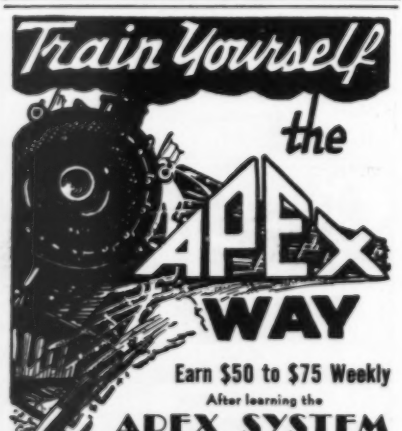

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Buell G. Gallagher, president of Talladega College, was the Commencement speaker on June 7. Honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws were conferred on Judge of the Special Sessions Court of New York City, Myles A. Paige; John W. Davis, president of West Virginia State College, and A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Dr. James E. Shepard, president of North Carolina College for Negroes delivered the Commencement address at **Atlanta University** on June 3. The baccalaureate sermon was delivered by Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president of the Union Theological Seminary. Masters degrees were awarded 53 young men and women.

Dr. Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian diplomat and guest professor of French, spoke at the Pan American Scientific Congress held recently in Washington, D. C.

Bennett College's 67th Commencement was addressed by The Right Reverend Francis John McConnell, resident bishop of the Methodist Church, New York City. The honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters was conferred upon Mrs. Ida Haslup Goode, Sidney, O., president of the Women's Home Missionary Society and vice-president of the board of trustees of Bennett.

Ground was broken for the new Memorial chapel, gift of Mrs. Henry Pfieffer of New York City. Forty-two young ladies received degrees.

Prof. M. S. Briscoe of the **Storer College** department of biology recently read a paper on an analysis of early and late development of the radula in snails before the American Malacological Society at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, Penna. He is a member of several scientific societies.

Rev. G. Pitt Beers, Exec. Sec'y American Baptist Home Mission Society delivered the 73rd Commencement address.

The cornerstone of the new Home Economics building, Permelia Eastman Cook Hall, was laid on May 29.

Robert Duane Brown, member of the science faculty of **Fayetteville State Teachers College**, has received a General Education Board Fellowship to study in the field of Basic Sciences at Teachers College, Columbia University. He is an A.B. from Fisk University, 1935, an A.M. from the University of Illinois, 1939, and a member of the National Honorary Psychological Fraternity **Psi Chi.**

Dr. Arthur D. Wright, president of the Southern Education Foundation delivered the 75th commencement address at **Shaw University** on May 26. The graduating class numbered 48.

At the 73rd annual commencement exercises at **St. Augustine's College** the principal address was delivered by Bishop Henry W. Hobson of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of southern Ohio. The B.A. degree was given 27 graduates. In addition there were five graduates of the Bishop Tuttle Training School of religious education and social work and six students completed

(*Continued on page* 219)

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A Record of the Darker Races

Published by THE CRISIS PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

DR. LOUIS T. WRIGHT, *President* WALTER WHITE, *Secretary*
MRS. LILLIAN A. ALEXANDER, *Treasurer*

Volume 47, No. 7 *Whole No. 355*

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A heavy bomber of the U. S. Army accompanied by a fighter-pursuit plane and (below) a view of one of the airplane factories in Southern California

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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THE COVER

Just as we went to press we received two reports: (1) that a Negro youth had made application to the United States army air corps from Chicago and had not had his application turned down by mail as is usually the case; (2) that one colored man, an aeronautical engineer, and a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston and Stanford university in Palo Alto, California, had been accepted as a "probationary employe" by the Douglas Aircraft Corporation in Los Angeles.

It is not known what will become of the two men, but at least their initial efforts have not been rebuffed as in the past. However, there is as yet no indication that the vast national defense program of the United States will include the Negro as employes in factories, mechanics and helpers in the huge ground crews for airplanes, or by enlistment in all the branches of the armed forces.

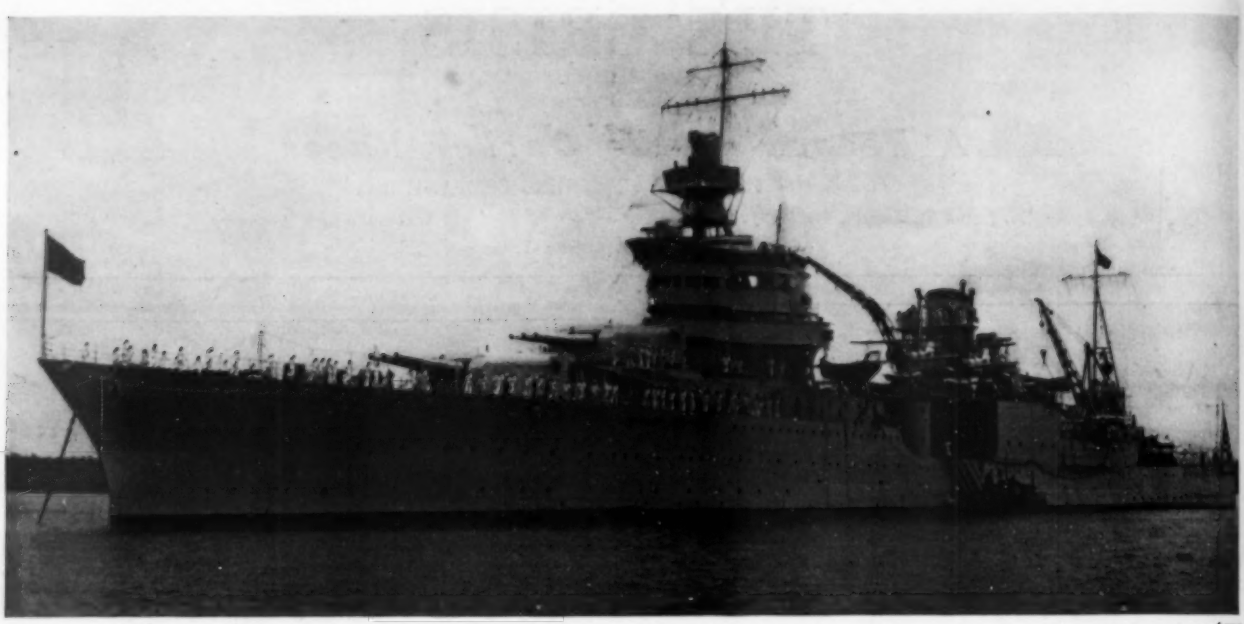
NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the 29th annual education number containing special features on education, news, pictures and statistics of college graduates.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Corinne Dean will be remembered for her story, "Plantation Stain," in a recent issue of THE CRISIS. She lives in New York.

Benjamin Kaplan is in the office of the well-known New York law firm, Greenbaum, Wolff and Ernst. He is a member of the national legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P. and has assisted in several important cases carried forward by the Association.



"No honor from our people . . . they know we are not real sailors, but merely white men's servants wearing a uniform"

The Negro in the United States Navy

Anonymous

MANY young colored men have joined the navy and others will join, as we did, to become disillusioned, disgusted, irresponsible, and antagonistic toward the white race.

Because of our experiences and those of thousands of other Negroes we have prepared this unbiased article on what the colored men will confront when they decide to give their all to the land of the free and the home of the brave.

This article is based entirely on facts and observations which may be substantiated by any of the thousands of Negroes now in the naval service who will tell the truth.

Prior to, and during the last war, there were any number of Negroes in all branches of naval service. Many of them became famous through their contributions to this service. They made such a creditable record that both the United States and the Negro race were proud of them. Before the war, the navy was chiefly composed of derelicts and riffraff and the color of a man's skin was immaterial as long as he could handle his job with a reasonable amount of efficiency. During the war as in time of any great crisis, a man was a man, for possible death drew no color line. However, when the war was over and the crisis had passed, and when there was no longer any need for man power,

The author of this article is a colored man on a United States warship whose home station is Long Beach, California. For obvious reasons his name is being withheld

once more sectionalism and prejudice reigned over the land. Nevertheless, many Negroes had risen to the rank of chief petty officer, actually in command of white seamen.

Enlistments Stopped

The inevitable happened. As soon as the war was over, all Negro enlistments were stopped, including the messmen branch, which at that time, enlisted Filipinos and Guamanians. In other words, at the termination of the war when the country had returned to a semblance of normality, the doors of opportunity were closed to all Negroes who desired further enlistment. That was the Negro's reward for his bravery and courage in time of strife.

The Negro has become America's No. 1 Forgotten Man. However, in 1933 once more the crisis arose. With the voting of independence to the Philippines, navy strategists realized that the presence of Filipinos in the service of the U. S. Navy might prove to be embarassing, especially if in some future war they should ally themselves with some far eastern power. It was then and not until then that Uncle Sam remembered that Negroes were American citizens, trustworthy, loyal and brave.

With flag-waving and flowery speeches, the Negro was again welcomed into the navy under the impression that the U. S. was doing him a favor by enlisting him instead of the Filipino. Many of the Negro politicians and Uncle Toms have pointed with pride to this fact. Why they have done so, God only knows. The Negro in the navy is a servant, and an indentured servant in the worst sense of the word. Further, we venture to say that no self-respecting white man with ambition would enlist in the messman's branch should Negroes refuse to do so.

Highest Rank is Steward

Contrary to popular belief, Negroes cannot become petty officers or chief petty officers. The highest rank that can be obtained is officers' cook or steward, and even though a steward, one is still looked upon as a mess attendant. A gentleman's gentleman is an honorable profession, but in the navy, it takes on the worst sort of aspect.

It is indeed galling to watch the type of seamen that enlist in the navy, and who in a very short time rise to positions of prominence by means of contact, while the real merit men, men of greater intelligence must be servants simply because of the color of their skin.

The navy is open to any man born in the United States. Sons of Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, and of various other races are welcomed into the navy. Yet we, whose ancestors came over in 1619 and whose forefathers bled and died for white freedom, are the only race discriminated against. It is agreed that this is a deplorable situation, but like so many other of our problems, a solution is yet to be found.

In order that our readers may thoroughly understand the positions of Negroes in the navy allow us to outline the career of the typical mess-attendant from the time he enlists until he is discharged.

A young colored man coming into the navy expects hard work and discipline as well as fairness. The first two expectations materialize. But in respect to the third, our young hopeful is in for serious disappointment.

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Having decided to join the navy and see the world, the future mess-attendant must pass a satisfactory mental and physical examination. He is then sworn in as a mess-attendant of third class, with a salary of $21.00 a month. Having received his railroad fare, and a substantial allowance en route, he travels to Norfolk, Va., a city which he will long remember, not only for its ugliness, but for its segregation, race and class hatred.

Finally, arriving at the training station with scores of other recruits, practically all southern youths, he is outfitted with everything he needs. His civilian clothes are then stored and sent back home. One should never sell them, because there will be many a time he will gladly exchange the uniform for a civilian suit.

After three weeks of detention period, he is taught to make up officers' bunks, and how to make good coffee, and to serve officers by courses at meal time.

Jim Crow in Ship Movie

He may attend a movie six days a week, seated in a special Jim Crow balcony. Three times a week, the future messman may go to Norfolk, provided he is back by 2400 o'clock, which is midnight. It is at this stage that your boys, all of them young and healthy, are transferred into hard, bitter sailors. There are in store for him even more disappointments.

At Norfolk, he finds that rather than being accepted with honor by his own race, he is ostracized here, too. The better class of people will not speak to him on the street. He is ignored in the churches, and is never invited to their social affairs. Even the ordinary girls will not associate with him. They say he's no good, and will have a girl in every port when he goes to sea. The debs and college girls cross the street, rather than meet him. He, poor fellow, is considered a scoundrel, reprobate, and a drunkard. No self-respecting girl will go out with him. If he gets a girl, he cannot take her to social affairs aboard his ship, or at naval bases because they are colored.

The people of Norfolk and other coast towns are not wholly to be condemned for their attitude. They know that we are not real sailors, but merely white men's servants wearing a uniform. They look down upon us with scorn for stooping so low, and trying to keep up a "phoney" front, and lying for the navy, when they know very well how they dog us around, and the type of work we have to do because we are Negroes.

As you can see, a transformation from a civilian to a sailor is no bed of roses. At present, it is not worth any colored youngster's time. When we have fought and won our rights to enlist in the navy as real seamen, and not as waiters, and maids, it will be a wonderful career for a single man who has no responsibilities.

Pay Rises Slowly

Aboard ship, our newly born sailor must arise at 5:30 A.M. In the fleet, which is composed of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft carriers, etc., his salary is still $21 a month. A year has passed by now. The white seaman that enlisted the same time the messman did automatically gets $36 a month, when he completes three months training at the naval training station. By the time he has a year in the navy, his salary is $54 a month, because a seaman is eligible for a rate every quarter, whereas the messman has to hold down his rate one year. In other words, by the time our messman is second class, the seaman is a petty officer.

Ninety-eight per cent of the ship's company is composed of white men, therefore our friend's company is not acceptable except with his own kind. A ship's company is composed of 75% white southerners. That will give you an idea.

There are practically no responsibilities to a messman's military duties. His special duties count most. After all, he is a mess-attendant. Just a mess-attendant. Or shall we say "officer's boy." His duties consist of serving officers' meals, cleaning officers' rooms, shining their shoes, checking their laundry, running errands for them, caring for their uniforms, etc.

Cannot Learn Trades

Our friend must not expect to learn engineering, electricity, navigation, radio, storekeeper, gunnery, medicine, bugler, quartermaster, signalman, carpenter, shipfitter, medalsmith, aviation, nor anything else except domestic work.

Just as ships differ, so do officers. The higher the officer's rank, usually, the better he treats the Negro. He, by this time, is accustomed to the presence of the Negro. However, this does not always hold true. It is unfortunate for the mess-boy if he gets a junior officer from the South; first, because he is probably off the farm, and has never had a servant. Secondly, because he generally has the hatred for the Negro instilled in his blood. He doesn't want a valet, he wants a slave.

The white officer is usually the type to persecute. He can and does make your career difficult for you, because he knows that you cannot defend yourself.

Our Negro sailors should be warned never to show a spark of intelligence if they want to spend four years in the navy. Everyone does his best to keep a smart Negro "in his place." If one doesn't mind being insulted by his superiors, if he is the kind that wants to be the rag under the white man's feet, if he is willing to stand by while others make ratings, then he is the type of Negro the navy wants. He is the type that will make a success as a messman.

Only 1% Re-enlist

Most Negroes find that four years in the navy is much too much for them. Proof of this fact is evident in the fact that only 1% re-enlist for another four years. This shows conclusively the attitude of the modern Negro toward white supremacy, and bigotry.

On all sides one often hears such statements as: "I'll starve before I'll re-enlist." Or, "I'll take outside if they made me Admiral." Despite the unpleasantness of this picture, scores of young Negroes are still coming in, unaware of what they are up against. They are licked from the start.

After having spent three years and five months in this navy, and having

(*Continued on page* 210)

Horns and Tails

By Corinne Dean

Hezekiah almost spoiled the getaway, but in the crucial moment the fear of devils did not keep him from saying the right thing

"GOR a' mighty, Massa," exclaimed Hezekiah, "Horns? What?! An' tails too?!! Gor a' mighty!!!"

Hezekiah's big round eyes became bigger and bigger until the whites were so bulging and full they made his eyes look like two little moons which had somehow got suspended in the middle of his midnight black face. In an effort to clarify his thinking, he scratched his head first with one hand and then with the other. He would have scratched his head with both hands at the same time, so great was his astonishment, but he had to keep one hand free for digging into his flesh whenever the home spun cloth of his new shirt irritated his skin beyond endurance. The new shirt scratched all parts indiscriminately and without favor so that, between Hezekiah's arm flaying and his horror struck expression, he resembled a tight rope walker who was headed for a fall and knew it.

In the midst of his acrobatics he was thinking: Mus' be mah haid is quair. Maybe hit don' hyar right, no mo'. Or could be Massa Daniel is jus' a foolin' me. Ah'll axe 'im agin, fo' sho'.

"Ah you sho' Massa? Positif?"

Ryan's crafty eyes twinkled as he replied firmly: "I'm positive, Hezekiah. I saw 'um myself."

"Gor a' mighty, Massa, Gor a' mighty," was all the pop-eyed Hezekiah could say.

Unable to figure it all he stared intently, for sometime, at a non-committal lilac bush, but finding in its bland foliage no solution to his problem, he at last started walking slowly away, still scratching his head and practically dancing in his new shirt. He kept repeating over and over, in an ever fainter voice, his eternal "Gor a' mighty."

It was an obsession with Ryan to let his slaves get almost out of sight and then call them back for some real or fancied need. He said they were lazy anyhow and needed the extra steps to keep them fit for their 16 hour workday. Besides this unadulterated perverseness, he had another reason this time. He wanted his first coating of propaganda to soak in before applying the second coating. With his shifty eyes fixed on Hezekiah, he let the youngster get almost to the corner of the house before calling, in as casual a tone as possible:

"Oh Hezekiah. Come heah."

Hezekiah came back as fast as he could considering how the weight of his meditations was boring him down.

"Yes, Massa?"

"By the way, if you see any of them Yankees who look as if they don't have no horns and tails, don't let that fool yuh. The Confederates have shot 'um off, that's all, but they're devils just the same. Lemme know if you see one, and I'll kill him before he can do you any harm. Them Yankee devils are fond of cuttin' up little boys into pieces, and once they see you they'll come back to get you, if they don't get you the first time."

So thoroughly alarmed was Hezekiah that his tongue stuck in his throat as he tried to reply. He stuttered: "D—D—Don't warry Massa. Ef—ef—ef Ah seed one of 'um c—c—coming foh me, Ah—Ah—Ah'd tell you, sho'."

Ryan laughed good-naturedly and waved the boy on his way. The next time Hezekiah got almost to the corner of the house, he broke into a run.

"Good," said Ryan rubbing his hairy red hands together. "He's goin' to tell the rest of the little darkies. At last I'll catch up with that Damn Yankee."

Gleefully Ryan pictured to himself little Negro slaves stampeding his veranda, in a double effort to get out of the way of the Yankees, and to get the Yankees wiped out of existence.

His soaring flight into fancy was abruptly leveled off by old Sam saying: "Hyar's yoh mail, Massa."

Instead of taking the letters Ryan turned on Sam a vicious look of fury and frustration. He was so angry he could have beaten Sam. Ryan's eyes blazed as bitter thoughts, like a nasty medicine that wouldn't stay down, welled up in his mind. Two years ago I would have beaten Sam—he thought—but today the Damn Yankees have spoiled everything, including the niggers. God, when will the good old days come back when you can even afford to beat a nigger to death if you want to.

In spite of the Yankees, Ryan could still have beaten Sam had he wanted to, but it wouldn't have done any good and it wouldn't have been profitable. It wouldn't have erased from Sam's old eyes that glint of secret malice, nor from his behavior that subtle resistance which Ryan felt but could not put his finger on; but it would have created, and this was of vital importance, a shortage of help because Sam was sure to be or "pretend to be" sick after a beating.

Ryan hadn't wanted Sam to know what he told Hezekiah. Sam couldn't be trusted. Hadn't Sam insisted he couldn't read although one day Ryan had caught him red handed teaching a group of youngsters their A, B. C's? Sam had insisted he knew only his A. B. C's and not all of them. He also pretended he didn't know it was a crime to teach the slaves "anything." Added to this, was Ryan's innate distrust of anyone who handled his mail. Consequently he not only distrusted, but actually hated Sam because it was he (albeit at Ryan's orders) who brought the mail with its increasingly distasteful contents. Ryan hated the mail and therefore he hated the man who brought it.

The letters were always the same—nauseating. Yet Ryan read them with that same kind of sickening fascination with which one stares at the bloody and maimed victims of a terrible accident.

As Ryan did not take the mail, Sam remained motionless patiently holding letters at arms length. His indifferent expression as if he didn't care whether Ryan ever took the letters or not infuriated Ryan. Ryan's face was ominous and foreboding for Sam as he said:

"Always sneaking around, Hey Sam?"

"No, Massa. You no hyeahred me," Sam explained. "Ah sade twice 'Massa hyeah's yoh mail', and—"

"Stop lying," snarled Ryan as he snatched the letters out of the old Negro's hand.

Sam shuffled away on his unsteady legs. As he opened the porch door Ryan called out;

"Come heah!"

Sam wheeled his old bones around and returned.

"Yes, Massa."

"Bring me some whiskey."

Sam wheeled himself around again and started to execute the order.

"Don't take all day," snapped Ryan. "God a' mighty, get a move on you."

"Yass, suh," replied Sam wheeling himself around and about again.

AFTER Sam brought the whiskey Ryan took a drink, a big drink, to

brace himself for the ordeal of reading the mail. He ripped open all the letters at once as if to save time once the gruesome work was begun. Hurriedly he skimmed through the first letter—no use to read it all—damn Yankees, damn niggers. He skimmed through some others, afterwards crushing them in his big clammy hands and throwing them on the veranda as if each one were the body of some Yankee. Then, when all had been read, he sat with his eyes shut, in moody and bitter silence. He seemed as crushed as the poor battered letters lying at his feet.

Phrase after phrase from the letters flashed and burned through his mind—"down here there have been very alarming disturbances of the blacks; on more than one plantation the assistance of the authorities has been called in to overcome the open resistance of the blacks" . . . "last night a house was set on fire; last week 2 houses—our troubles thicken indeed when treachery comes from that dark quarter." . . . "We have found out a deep laid plot among the Negroes of our neighborhood and from what we can find out from our Negroes, it is general all over the country—we hear some startling facts. They have gone far enough in the plot to divide out our estates, mules, lands and household furniture" . . . "by a private letter from Upper Georgia we learn that an insurrectionary plot has been discovered among the Negroes in the vicinity of Dalton and Marietta." Ryan squirmed in his chair as other excerpts weaved incoherently in and out of his brain like a bad dream—"no general insurrection has taken place though several revolts have been attempted, two quite recently, and in these cases whole families were murdered before the slaves were subdued"—"The Negroes are the source of the greatest trouble. Many persons have lost them all."

Civil war at large—and at home: sabotage, rebellion, conspiracy and insurrection; while hanging over all was the constant threat of desertion by some of the remaining, if not all of the remaining Negroes from the plantation. Crops rotting in the fields for want of hands to gather them! Once or twice Ryan even thought of working himself but the thought was so repugnant to him he vigorously pushed it aside. Even in the best of times, Ryan recalled, the cotton had never really paid. The crop in the field was always mortgaged. To make the cotton pay he needed more cotton acreage; if he got more acreage he would need more slaves; to get more money for more slaves he needed more cotton acreage; to get more cotton he needed more slaves. Like little snakes chasing each other's tails, the cotton-slave-cotton idea ran around in circles in Ryan's brain.

He held "Brother" in front of him as if the baby were some sort of defense which could protect him from the wrath of Ryan

He didn't know how long he had been sitting there. Must have been at least two hours for here was that sneaking Sam back again saying:

"Miss Essie say tuh tell you she a waitin' foh you to come to dinnah."

Damn Sam,—thought Ryan—when the war is over and the Yankees have all keen killed off, and things allowed to return to normal, the first thing I am going to do is lynch Sam. I need him to help with the crops or I'd lynch him now. Angrily Ryan gathered up his crumpled letters before getting to his feet and starting for the door with long irregular strides.

In the parlor, his worried wife was looking at but not seeing some old daguerrotypes. Spying the letters in Ryan's hand, she said with false gayety: "Good news?"

Pre-occupied, engrossed in his thoughts Ryan strode past her into the dining room.

Ryan never read nor discussed any letters, lately. His silence was agonizing to her. No news was bad news, in this case. The tension that gripped every slave-owner was evident in Ryan's sullen face, his taut, harsh mouth. What made her feel so frustrated was the fact she didn't really know what was in the letters, although she surmised. She felt if the good-for-nothing slaves would only work diligently (for nothing) Ryan's troubles would be over. But no, just to be contrary, they either ran away or if they remained ate up more than they earned. How they ate! When she thought of all the money poor dear Daniel could have had if he hadn't had to feed and clothe the slaves, she could have cried. It was all their fault. How she hated them. Now, if she could only read. It was all the fault of the poor white trash that she couldn't read. If they hadn't insisted on attending the only school where poor aristocratic children could get an education, the proud aristocratic families, such as hers, wouldn't have taken their children out of the school rather than see them contaminated with the poor whites.

As a result Essie Mather Ryan had

grown up in proud ignorance while the children of the poor whites had grown up in humble literacy.*

She'd give a good deal to know the exact contents of those letters. Wistfully she followed Ryan into the dining room, where her attempts to draw him out were futile. The meal was eaten in a penetrating silence broken only when Sam entered to say:

"A lettah from Massa Whipple."

Ryan scowled at Sam who seemed doomed to be the emissary of missives distasteful to Ryan. Whipple was a professional slave "middle man," buying and selling slaves for profit and as such he was held in the greatest contempt by the Virginia plantation owners such as Ryan. But Whipple got about, he heard things, Ryan needed him now. Gingerly, Ryan took the letter from Sam.

The note was brief: "His name is Crawford. Will take you there tonight after supper."

Ryan bolted from the table as if an electric current had gone through his body.

"Sam" he shouted, "Get my boots ready. I'm going hunting later on."

Then he went to his room where poor Essie Mather Ryan could hear him pacing up and down. She went upstairs too. He took no notice of her as he cleaned and fingered his gun.

From time to time Ryan would mutter to himself: "If I can kill only one of those damn Yankees I'll die happy. So Crawford's his name. I'll teach him to cause desertion among my niggers. I'll get him."

Suddenly he looked up. "Sam, damn it, what are you doing here?"

"Pardon, Massa, but you say to get yoh boots. Well heayah they is."

"Later, later. I didn't say now," shouted Ryan.

Sam practically dropped the boots in the middle of the room, in his hurry to get out of the way, because it looked for a moment as though Ryan wasn't going to wait until the war was over but was going to blow the old Negro's brains out then and there.

"YOU sho' you ain't got no horns or tail mister," questioned Hezekiah. "Cause if you has Ah ain't goin' to hab nuttin' to do wif you."

Crawford burst out laughing although with each burst of laughter his wounded scalp seemed to expand and stretch, making his head ache. Still he couldn't stop laughing. Hezekiah was the newspaper and liaison "man" for the little group of runaways. He always had a lot of funny things to tell.

When Crawford could stop laughing he said:

"Now Hezekiah, you don't believe I got horns and a tail, do you?" and he unwound the bandage on his head in order to convince Hezekiah.

There were no horns, to be sure, but there were two funny red marks where horns might have been before they got shot off.

Hezekiah answered evasively: "Sam say you doesn't."

"Atta boy," said Crawford and he slapped Hezekiah on the back.

Poor Hezekiah jumped forward as if a pitchfork had been rammed between his shoulder blades. The group howled with laughter, all except wise, weather-beaten Martha. She saw nothing funny in the boy's doubts and fears. If he should falter through fear, all might be lost. She could tell by the way Hezekiah kept looking at Crawford's rear, that he, Hezekiah, expected to sight a tail or the remnants of a tail at any moment.

Martha stood up, took the clay pipe out of her mouth and said to Hezekiah by way of changing the conversation: "Go find Jeffuhson Davis, foh me an' bring him back. He's around hyah some whair."

But just then Jefferson Davis, the group's fat little pig, hove into sight under his own sturdy powers.

Ebenezer, who was cleaning his gun with ashes, looked up long enough to say reassuringly to Hezekiah: "Only devils have horns, son!"

"Dass what Ah knows," replied Hezekiah.

Martha tried again. She said in mock severity: "Hezekiah did you bring us de life-everlastin' foh de tea? De baby got de colic, you know. An' de paregoric? We ain't got no mo!"

"I fohget," said Hezekiah guiltily.

"Now devils—," began Ebenezer.

Martha drove her wedge: "An' de lily petals foh de fever stew; an' de palm o' christian leaves; an' de mutton tallow foh Angie's chess cole."

"I fohget," replied Hezekiah.

"You doan remembah nothin' tuhday," Martha reproached. Then, more kindly, she added: "Maybe cose yous' hongry. Come ober by de fire an' I'll gib you some hot yams. Did you see yoh little red bird tuhday?"

"I'se not hongry," said Hezekiah.

Martha was stumped. Anytime Hezekiah didn't want hot yams, things were serious. "Come ober hyeah anyhow, Hezekiah. I wants to talk—to—." She stopped.

A dog had barked far away but not far enough away. At the sound, Hezekiah's smooth black skin turned ashy gray.

"I fohget, I fohget," Hezekiah started crying, in bitter resentment against himself for forgetting at a time when he wanted to be so dependable and manlike. "Sam say tuh tell you de soonuh you shake de lion's paw de bettuh. Don' know what he mean—but—"*

"Sam say dat?" interrupted Martha, "My God!"

Collectively the camp jumped to its feet and began packing. Jefferson Davis was ignominiously dumped into a bag along with some old rags. Guns, knives, food, pans, blankets were hastily gathered together. As life hung on a slender thread of a few moments gained, the group stepped over and on a bewildered Hezekiah who sat on the ground weeping uncontrollably as he realized now how important the message had been.

It all happened so suddenly. Like phantoms, the campers disappeared into thin air. Martha was the only one still there. She was shaking Hezekiah and saying over and over something about "It ain't so, it ain't so Hezekiah." Martha was crying too. Swiftly she put a crying baby in his lap. Hezekiah heard a far away voice saying: "No paregoric, can't put Brother tuh sleep, so can't take him wid me. Take good care ob de baby, Hezekiah, and carry him safely back. Goodbye and God bless you, Hezekiah."

All at once Hezekiah realized the camp was empty, empty with that heart-aching emptiness of a place once filled with the voices of beloved friends. Forlornly he sat on the ground, his head in a whirl, his little body trembling with sobs. He held tight to the baby, though, who cried louder whenever Hezekiah's hot tears fell and spattered on his tiny head.

When Ryan, like a god of vengeance, stamped into the deserted camp, it was difficult to say who looked the most surprised, he or Hezekiah.

"God a' mighty, Hezekiah, what a' you doin' heah?!" Ryan exclaimed.

"I'se tendin' de baby," said Hezekiah meekly as if it were the most natural thing in the world for him to be "tendin' the baby" in the middle of a woods. He held "Brother" in front of him as if the baby were some sort of defense which could protect him from the wrath of Ryan.

"Put that brat down," ordered Ryan, "and come here and tell me have you seen any Yankees around here."

Ryan was more interested in (reeking) vengeance on Crawford than in retrieving thousands of dollars worth of runaway slaves. His main objective was to "get" Crawford "for leading his darkies astray." It never occurred to Ryan to admit that there were Negroes running away every day who had never heard of Crawford.

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* Eastern Shore of Maryland.

* Shake the British lion's paw: Get to Canada.

Iron Ring in Housing

THERE is no right more elemental, nor any liberty more fundamental in a democracy than freedom to move where and when you please. It is for this right that the Chicago branch of the N.A.A.C.P is waging a relentless fight for 300,000 colored citizens of the City of Chicago. An immediate barrier to the achievement of this end is the *restrictive covenant* which, though assuming many forms, has been held legal by the courts on several occasions.

These covenants, familiar to Negroes in nearly all large cities, are binding agreements among white property owners and real estate operators not to sell, rent, lease or transfer property to Negroes, usually under no circumstances, but especially for purposes of occupancy. In Chicago, it has been estimated that 80 per cent of the city is covered by such agreements and consequently the Negro population has been herded into an area which should contain only one-fourth its number, and families are piled one upon another because of the perilous lack of adequate housing facilities.

For many years the N.A.A.C.P. has struggled to abolish these unconscionable, yet effective, instruments through the courts, the legislature and through the pressure of mass protest. Today, after much and hard fought litigation in the courts of Illinois, the Chicago branch and a corps of capable attorneys have succeeded in bringing the issue before the supreme court of the United States. There, it is hoped that a clear-cut decision may be rendered on the constitutional question involved (violation of the Fourteenth Amendment) which will render null and void any and all such agreements which are directed against any group because of race, creed, or color.

The medium is the case of *Lee vs. Hansberry, et al.* Carl A. Hansberry, former treasurer of the Chicago branch, N.A.A.C.P., bought and occupied a residence which was alleged to be covered by a restrictive covenant. Action was taken against him and the lower courts ousted Hansberry. Though he paid for the property, the court ruled it was to revert back to a former owner and with no compensation for the investment.

The corps of attorneys are: Irvin C. Mollison, president of the Illinois State Conference, N.A.A.C.P.; Earl B. Dickerson, president of the Cook County Bar Association and Alderman of Chicago's Second ward; Loring B. Moore, assistant attorney general of Illinois; C. Francis Stradford and Truman K. Gibson, Jr. The Branch, under the leadership of President Ira W. Williams, is conducting a drive to meet the necessary financial obligations that are involved in the supreme court case.

The Negro population of Chicago is caught in a vise made up of restrictive covenants prohibiting the sale or occupancy of property in certain districts to people of African descent. Attorneys for the Chicago branch of the NAACP have fought one case up to the United States supreme court where it will be argued soon. Another activity of the branch has been opposition to the revival of "The Birth of a Nation."

In Chicago, the lack of housing facilities has caused an aggravation of discontent which students have warned is approaching a crisis. The iron ring of restrictive covenants which surrounds the Negro community has prevented its normal expansion in spite of the fact that the colored population has more than doubled in the last two decades. Within the community practically no living units have been built* and few new residences have been made available during the past twelve years.

Rentals Up 50%

Since the demand so greatly exceeds the supply, rentals for Negroes have steadily jumped upward and today they pay from 25 to 50 per cent higher rent than do whites for comparable residences. This in spite of the fact that Negroes on the whole are in the lowest income group in the city. Unscrupulous landlords have taken supreme advantage of the situation and "kitchenettes" (one room apartments) are becoming the rule.

Under conditions such as these it is little wonder that the death rate and the morbidity rate of Negroes is higher than those of whites. Illegitimacy, delinquency and crime find fertile beds for growth. If the restrictive covenants can be lifted a great step will have been made in relieving these dissolute circumstances. Further, a decision based on the constitutional question will affect the practice throughout the country—an important victory indeed.

* * * * *

THROUGH persistent efforts on the part of the Chicago branch the "Birth of a Nation" movie from now on will be permitted to be shown in only one theatre in Chicago at one time. For 23 years this anti-Negro picture was protected by a permanent injunction which restrained city officials from censoring or barring its showing. The Chicago branch attempted to have the injunction dissolved on the grounds that it violated a subsequent statute passed by the Illinois legislature which permitted the suppression of any film that tends to provoke riots or breach of the peace, or which exposes the citizens of any race, color, creed or religion to contempt, derision or obloquy.

Professors Brand Film

Counsel representing the branch were George A. Blakey, chairman of the legal redress committee, Alderman Earl

(*Continued on page* 210)

*A USHA housing project is under construction.

Defender Photo

These attorneys will argue the restrictive covenant case before the U. S. supreme court. Left to right: Loring B. Moore, Assistant Attorney General of Illinois; Truman K. Gibson, Jr.; Earl B. Dickerson, president of the Cook County Bar Association; Irvin C. Mollison, president, Illinois state conference, NAACP; C. Francis Stradford

The Legal Front:

Some Highlights of the Past Year

By Benjamin Kaplan

It takes time to translate court decisions into action, but this fact should not stop legal work designed to enlarge and consolidate citizenship rights. Here is reviewed recent NAACP victories in the courts

THE Association participated in three cases affecting Negro rights decided by the United States supreme court in the term of court just ended. It was successful in all.

The Association likewise moved in lower courts to consolidate and enlarge the gains made in the supreme court in previous years; and commenced activities looking toward the establishment of important new principles in the field of equal privileges for Negroes.

Thus, while civil liberty is being destroyed in most parts of the world, a larger area of freedom has been carved out for the American Negro.

But this country is not immune from world influences. With the deepening of the horror abroad, the struggle for civil liberty on these shores is likely to become more acute and more intense. And as the fight for the liberty of the Negro is but a phase of the broader battle for tolerance, the champions of Negro rights must gird themselves now to meet challenges which will test their strength and vision and courage to the uttermost.

The Association may look back upon a year of solid accomplishment. It must look forward to a period of stress and crisis. This is the sad and bitter prospect of the times.

Steady Does It

Since 1915 counsel for the Association have won fundamental victories in the supreme court in various fields: registration and voting, primaries, equal justice in the courts, anti-segregation, decent educational opportunities for Negroes. Occasionally that work has risen to dramatic peaks; more often it has not. But the gains are there, whether or not they are advertised in the newspapers. The problem is always one of weaving paper triumphs—the words of judges—into the fabric of human conduct. That process is long and wearisome. The public is apt to minimize the value of law cases when it sees tangible evidence, everywhere, of the failure of law-on-the-books to be translated into law-in-action. Yet we have to realize that the second waits upon the first. While recognizing the limitations of the legal instrument in forging a better life, we should use that instrument in fullest measure. And this implies constant encouragement of and cooperation with Association counsel, in their day-to-day work, as well as in the occasional spectacular projects that capture the headlines.

In the Supreme Court

In *Chambers* v. *Florida* the supreme court, by Mr. Justice Black, building upon its prior decision in *Brown* v. *Mississippi*, also an Association case, enunciated in ringing terms the right of Negroes to justice free of oppression and coercion. The judgment was fittingly rendered on Lincoln's Birthday, 1940.

The facts were these: On the night of May 13, 1933, an elderly white man was robbed and murdered in Pompano, Florida. Within the day some forty Negroes were arrested by dragnet methods, without warrant, and confined to jail. For almost a week, night and day, the prisoners were subjected to questioning and browbeating. They were not allowed to see counsel or relatives. Five days of persistent grilling elicited nothing but disclaimers of guilt. Walter Woodward, a young ignorant tenant farmer, then "broke." But his "confession" was considered unsatisfactory. The grilling continued. Finally Woodward, Isiah Chambers, Jack Williamson and Charlie Davis "broke" in a manner acceptable to the authorities and all gave "confessions." The four boys were thereafter indicted and arraigned. Williamson, Woodward and Davis pleaded guilty; Chambers pleaded not guilty.

At the Chambers trial, the four confessions were used and a jury returned a verdict of guilty. All the defendants were sentenced to death. Appeal was taken to the Florida supreme court, which affirmed. Application was then made to the Florida supreme court upon the suggestion that the confessions had been obtained by coercion and duress. That court granted leave to present a petition to the lower Florida court. The issue of the validity of the confessions was twice submitted to juries, which held against the prisoners; and the Florida supreme court ultimately affirmed, one judge dissenting.

The supreme court of the United States granted certiorari and reversed the judgment of the Florida supreme court. Despite the jury findings, it felt bound to reexamine the record to determine for itself whether the constitutional claim—that the convictions were secured through use by the State of confessions improperly compelled, a claim of right under the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment—was meritorious. And upon such reexamination the court found abundant evidence that the confessions were the manifest result of pressure dishonestly applied.

Mr. Justice Black's Opinion

Mr. Justice Black's opinion is noteworthy not only for the scope and significance of the principles of law which it declares, but for its understanding of the human factors involved. It deserves generous quotation:

> "The determination to preserve an accused's right to procedural due process sprang in large part from knowledge of the historical truth that the rights and liberties of people accused of crime could not be safely entrusted to secret inquisitorial processes. The testimony of centuries, in governments of varying kinds over populations of different races and beliefs, stood as proof that physical and mental torture and coercion had brought about the tragically unjust sacrifices of some who were the noblest and most useful of their generations. The rack, the thumbscrew, the wheel, solitary confinement, protracted questioning and cross questioning, and other ingenious forms of entrapment of the helpless or unpopular had left their wake of mutilated bodies and shattered minds along the way to the cross, the guillotine, the stake and the hangman's noose. And they who have suffered most from secret and dictatorial proceedings have almost always been the poor, ignorant, the numerically weak, the friendless, and the powerless.
>
> This requirement—of conforming to fundamental standards of procedure in criminal trials—was made operative against the States by the Fourteenth Amendment. Where one of several accused had limped into the trial court as a result of admitted physical mistreatment inflicted to obtain confessions upon which a jury had returned a verdict of guilty of murder, this Court recently declared, *Brown* v. *Mississippi*, that 'It would be difficult to conceive of methods more revolting to the sense of justice than those taken to procure the confessions of these petitioners, and the use of the confessions thus obtained as the basis

for conviction and sentence was a clear denial of due process.'

* * *

Here, the record develops a sharp conflict upon the issue of physical violence and mistreatment, but shows, without conflict, the drag net methods of arrest on suspicion without warrant, and the protracted questioning and cross questioning of these ignorant young colored tenant farmers by State officers and other white citizens, in a fourth floor jail room, where as prisoners they were without friends, advisers or counselors, and under circumstances calculated to break the strongest nerves and the stoutest resistance. Just as our decision in *Brown* v. *Mississippi* was based upon the fact that the confessions were the result of compulsion, so in the present case, the admitted practices were such as to justify the statement that 'The undisputed facts showed that compulsion was applied.'

For five days petitioners were subjected to interrogations culminating in Saturday's (May 20th) all night examination. Over a period of five days they steadily refused to confess and disclaimed any guilt. The very circumstances surrounding their confinement and their questioning without any formal charges having been brought, were such as to fill petitioners with terror and frightful misgivings. Some were practical strangers in the community; three were arrested in a one-room farm tenant house which was their home; the haunting fear of mob violence was around them in an atmosphere charged with excitement and public indignation. From virtually the moment of their arrest until their eventual confessions, they never knew just when any one would be called back to the fourth floor room, and there, surrounded by his accusers and others, interrogated by men who held their very lives—so far as these ignorant petitioners could know—in the balance. The rejection of petitioner Woodward's first 'confession', given in the early hours of Sunday morning, because it was found wanting, demonstrates the relentless tenacity which 'broke' petitioners' will and rendered them helpless to resist their accusers further. To permit human lives to be forfeited upon confessions thus obtained would make of the constitutional requirement of due process of law a meaningless symbol.

We are not impressed by the argument that law enforcement methods such as those under review are necessary to uphold our laws. The Constitution proscribes such lawless means irrespective of the end. And this argument flouts the basic principle that all people must stand on an equality before the bar of justice in every American court. Today, as in ages past, we are not without tragic proof that the exalted power of some governments to punish manufactured crime dictatorially is the handmaid of tyranny. Under our constitutional system, courts stand against any winds that blow as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered, or because they are non-conforming victims of prejudice and public excitement. Due process of law preserved for all by our Constitution, commands that no such practice as that disclosed by this record shall send any accused to his death. No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this Court, than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed or persuasion."

Alabama Case Reversed

In the same term of court, the United States supreme court reversed the sentences of Dave Canty (*Canty* v. *Alabama*) and Bob White (*White* v. *Texas*) upon substantially similar grounds.

Canty had "confessed" the murder of a white girl after being tortured and "strung up." The final victory in the supreme court was due in no small measure to the work of Attorney Alex P. Birch of Montgomery, Alabama, a former United States District Attorney, who cooperated with Association counsel.

White was convicted of rape upon a white woman on the basis of a "confession" obtained after four days of punishment and questioning. He was forced to put his mark on a statement which he could not read. On the day of the trial at Livingston, Texas, all Negroes were chased out of town, and White's attorneys were threatened.

The petition for certiorari in the *White* case was first denied by the supreme court. However, following the decision in the *Chambers* case, motion to reconsider was filed, and upon this motion, the petition and the record, the court on March 25, 1940, reversed the judgment of the Texas court, citing and relying upon the *Chambers* and *Canty* decisions. It later denied the state's application for rehearing.

The *White* case is the Association's fifteenth successful appearance in the high court. In all it has participated in sixteen cases.

Equal Educational Facilities

Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. *Canada,* an Association case, established the principle that the state must afford, within its own boundaries, the same educational privileges to Negroes as it extends to white persons. Segregation is constitutional provided the privileges afforded in Negro schools are equivalent to those afforded in white schools. If a particular facility is not available in Negro schools, the white schools must open their doors at least until the defect is remedied. And the state does not satisfy the constitutional requirement by remitting the Negro to a school outside the state, even by means of a scholarship.

The opinion of Chief Justice Hughes in the *Gaines* case was hailed as the strongest affirmation of a doctrine for which Negroes have contended for generations. It is indeed a great opinion; but it has not automatically transmuted itself into corrective action by the states affected. And so the cases must be piled on.

The State of Missouri has appropriated money toward the creation and maintenance of a law school affiliated with Lincoln university—thus purporting to correct the situation disclosed by *Gaines* case. It may be questioned whether this action has resulted, or is likely in the near future to result, in that equivalence of educational privilege which is demanded by the Constitution. In other phases of graduate study, Missouri has apparently been wholly delinquent. The Association has lent its assistance to Lucille Bluford, who seeks admission to the school of journalism of Missouri university. Suits have been commenced on her behalf in the federal and state courts. As this article is written, appeal is contemplated from an unfavorable decision by Judge W. M. Dinwiddie in a lower Missouri court, and preliminary skirmishes are being fought in the federal action.

Six mandamus actions have been instituted against officials of the University of Tennessee to compel admission of Negroes to various graduate courses of study.

In Maryland Negroes have recently been admitted to the law school of the state university without court contest. Donald G. Murray, the first Negro student to be admitted to the university law school, concluded his studies in 1938 and has been admitted to the bar. His successful suit in 1935 paved the way for the rest. Here is evidence—if any were needed—that no cataclysm would result from the elimination of the whole practice of segregation in educational systems of the South.

Equal Salaries for Teachers

Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, of the Federal District Court in Maryland, on November 22, 1939 handed down the eagerly expected decision in *Mills* v. *Board of Education of Anne Arundel County.* He held, consistently with contentions made by counsel for the Association, that Negro teachers employed in public schools are constitutionally entitled to the payment of salaries unaffected by discrimination on the ground of race or color. The full text of Judge Chesnut's comprehensive and carefully reasoned opinion was printed in the January, 1940, issue of THE CRISIS. Attention is here called to Judge Chesnut's prior and related opinion in *Mills* v. *Lowndes,* where he set forth the basic principle upon which the *Mills* case was successfully litigated and decided:

"The right of the State to prescribe the qualifications for and the salary annexed to a public office of employment is ordinarily free from restriction; and it would not seem that a state employe who has accepted employment at a stated salary could complain that he has been denied a *civil* right under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. However, it is not necessary in this case to decide this precise question because in my opinion there is another aspect of the plaintiff's situation which entitles him to attack the legislation in its practical application. The plaintiff is a qualified school teacher and has the civil right as such to

(*Continued on page* 210)

Entries in The Crisis Beautiful Child Contest

Philip Moore Bass, 3rd, Morristown, N. J., is seven and a half years old. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. Philip Bass, Jr., of Hanover avenue. Mr. Bass is a chef

Barbara Jane Bryant, Kansas City, Mo., is seven years and four months old. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Girard T. Bryant, 2208 East 25th street. Mr. Bryant is a school teacher

Bobbie Jeanne Anderson, Los Angeles, Calif., is eight and a half. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. James Anderson, 1202½ East 58th Place. Mr. Anderson is a railroad employe

Augustus Lee Eggleston, Huntington, W. Va., is just over 10 years old. His parents are Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lewis, 1412 Tenth avenue. Both Mr. and Mrs. Lewis are employed by the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad

Joyce Eleanor Le Blanc, Baton Rouge, La., is slightly more than 8 years old. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Nouma Le Blanc, 8001 South Seventeenth street. Mr. Le Blanc is a bricklayer and Mrs. Le Blanc a school teacher

June Louise Davis, Plainfield, N. J., is just three years old. Her parents are Mr. and Mrs. Robert Davis, 427 Cottage Place. Mr. Davis is a handy man

More pictures will be published next month. Contest closes August 1—See page 195

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS
Advisory Board: Lewis Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allan Neilson, Walter White, Charles Edward Russell, Carl Murphy, John Hammond

Robert R. Moton

THE death of Robert Russa Moton, May 31, removed from the race one of its elder statesmen. His was the difficult task of following in the footsteps of Booker T. Washington as principal of Tuskegee Institute, then and now, one of the world's famous schools. He carried on the Washington idea, consolidated the gains, and expanded both the plant and its curriculum.

It ought to be recognized that the presidency of a Negro college in such a place as Alabama is no bed of roses. A man has a tight fight between his conscience, his manhood, his responsibilities as a spokesman for his race, and the realities of the administration and continued growth of his school. Robert Moton resolved these clashes in his own way and it must be said that, all things considered, he did a great work. It has become known in these later years that several of the incidents for which he was excoriated at the moment were not of his making.

If any proof were needed of the creed in which the man, Moton, really believed, it is to be found in his astonishing book, "What the Negro Thinks." Here is a forthright statement which hardly could have been stronger had it been written by a resident of Montreal, rather than a citizen of Deepest Alabama. THE CRISIS joins the nation in mourning his death.

Lynching and Liberty

A GREAT many people in America are on the verge of hysteria about the threat to liberty and democracy from Hitler's onward-marching legions. We are being told from every printed page, from every radio loudspeaker, from every rostrum that this country must arise and defend by every means within its power the democracy we have set up here.

At least one section of our population remains skeptical as our orators and writers pour out their torrent of exhortation. Here in America democracy has meant to millions of dark citizens that if any mob of persons chooses for any reason to hunt down, shoot, hang, or burn alive a Negro, it can do so with serene knowledge that no sheriff, no grand jury, no judge—*nobody*—will do anything about it.

Our Constitution, to which we are pointing these days as a contrast to Herr Hitler's plan of life, does say that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.

But the Senate of the United States stubbornly refuses to consider a federal anti-lynching bill to make this Constitution mean something to thirteen million American citizens and, indeed, to millions more. The votes are there in the Senate to pass this bill which already has been passed in the House. Only a threat of a filibuster by a handful of senators keeps the bill from being passed.

THE CRISIS is sorry for brutality, blood, and death among the peoples of Europe, just as we were sorry for China and Ethiopia. But the hysterical cries of the preachers of democracy for Europe leave us cold. We want democracy in Alabama and Arkansas, in Mississippi and Michigan, in the District of Columbia—*in the Senate of the United States.*

It is not important (if true) that there have been "only a few" lynchings. It is supremely important for this democratic process we say we revere that the Constitution, and not the emotional whims of hoodlums, be known as the law of the land. Until that is made unmistakably clear, the only essential difference between a Nazi mob hunting down Jews in Central Europe and an American mob burning black men at the stake in Mississippi is that one is actually encouraged by its national government and the other is merely tolerated.

Out in the Cold

IT cannot be emphasized too often that as far as the national defense program is concerned, Negro Americans seem to be receiving absolutely no attention whatsoever. More than four billion dollars have been voted for national defense since Hitler invaded the Low Countries early in May. These bills have gone from the White House through Congress so rapidly and have been earmarked in such complication that it is not possible for a mere layman to know all that America plans to do with these vast sums.

Some are regular army and navy appropriations. Some are emergency funds. Some are for plant expansion, for munitions, for warplanes, for the training of pilots, for the training of mechanics, for motorization, for enlarging the personnel of the army and navy, for new warships, for reconditioning old warships, etc.

But one thing is clear to Negroes: all this is being planned without the opening of participation to colored people. In the thousands of jobs that will be made available by these government contracts Negroes seem slated to be turned away from the employment offices as usual. The airplane factories remain lily-white by definite policy. The navy accepts Negroes only as mess attendants. The army air force will not have them either as mechanics or as pilots.

Yet this same Negro is expected to become fanatic in defense of American democracy. He is expected to contribute to the Red Cross which will not employ his doctors and nurses except in a few instances at reduced rates of pay. He is expected to be outraged at Hitler and embrace with tears of gratitude the Anglo-American way of life.

We are for the national defense program. We have no love for Hitlerism. But we feel the strongest defense of democracy lies in giving all the people a stake in it, not a stake measured by comparison with Hitlerism, but one measured by the professions of democracy itself.

It is here suggested that the men who are planning and pleading for national defense are not building the unity out of which real national defense is fashioned by disregarding the natural and wholly reasonable aspirations of Negro Americans.

New Stories for Old

THE Negro receives such bad treatment in the popular fiction of the day that it is a pleasure to comment on two stories carried during May in the widely-circulated magazines, *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's*. *Collier's* carried a story, "Success", by Jacland Marmur telling of the heartbreaking struggle—finally crowned with success—of a Negro to become the captain of a ship. All the discouragements faced by black men everywhere are poignantly outlined in this story.

In *The Post* was a story by Stephen Vincent Benet called "Freedom's A Hard-Bought Thing," telling of the flight by a slave to freedom in Canada. It is hard to condense this tale. Its most smashing accomplishment is the refutation of the fiction that Negroes liked slavery, never wanted to be free, and never struggled for freedom.

Negro in Navy

(*Continued from page* 201)

had plenty of time to think, I would like to offer one suggestion, as this situation deeply concerns every Negro in America. Let's not sit and talk, and wait for sympathy. The Navy department, and the government, can and will give you your equal rights, when, and only when you have fought and successfully demanded them.

There are thousands of organizations who are fighting the Negroes' battle. The NAACP has done most to help the Negro in both the Navy and the Army. Will the readers of this article be the 20th century type, and help? May God give us all a better understanding.

Legal Front

(*Continued from page* 207)

pursue his occupation without discriminatory legislation on account of his race or color. While the State may freely select its employes and determine their compensation it would, in my opinion, be clearly unconstitutional for a state to pass legislation which imposed discriminatory burdens on the colored race with respect to their qualifications for office or prescribe a rate of pay less than that for other classes solely on account of race or color. If therefore the state laws prescribed that colored teachers of equal qualifications with white teachers should receive less compensation on account of their color, such a law would clearly be unconstitutional. It is true the statutes on their face do not have this effect but the complaint alleges that this is the practical application given to the statutes throughout many of the Counties of the State. If so, the discrimination is clearly unlawful. In Simpson v. Geary, D. C., 204 F. 507, 512, Circuit Judge Morrow said: 'The right to contract for and retain employment in a given occupation or calling is not a right secured by the Constitution of the United States, nor by any Constitution. It is primarily a natural right, and it is only when a state law regulating such employment discriminates arbitrarily against the equal rights of some class of citizens of the United States, or some class of persons within its jurisdiction, as, for example, on account of race or color, that the civil rights of such persons are invaded, and the protection of the federal Constitution can be invoked to protect the individual in his employment or calling.'

"I conclude therefore that the plaintiff does have a status, not as a public employe, but as a teacher by occupation, which entitles him to raise the constitutional question; * * *."

The authorities of Anne Arundel County have apparently acquiesced in Judge Chesnut's decision and will henceforth equalize salaries.

It may be confidently predicted that the doctrine of the *Mills* case will be approved by the supreme court when the problem reaches that tribunal. In the meanwhile divergence of opinion among the lower courts may be expected despite the trenchant logic of Judge Chesnut's opinion.

In *Alston* v. *School Board of Norfolk*, Judge Luther B. Way of the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia dismissed a similar application before trial, presumably upon the ground that Teacher Alston had waived his constitutional claim by accepting a written contract of employment from the local school board at the discriminatory wage level. Appeal from Judge Way's determination has been taken to the Fourth Court of Appeals. The writer anticipates that that court will reverse.

The Association has dug in for the duration and has announced that it will lend its assistance in proper cases to make the *Gaines* decision a reality on all levels and in all phases of State education.

Building a Program

All our friends would agree that the Association should continue to defend in every possible way the right of Negroes to fair and equal treatment in criminal cases. While the program in this regard can be geared to long-time objectives, it is to a considerable extent molded by the exigencies of particular cases as they arise in the various States; the particular deprivation makes the case.

In other fields the Association has a wider range of deliberate choice. Was it wise to use the limited time and financial resources of the Association's legal staff to compel admission of Negroes to graduate schools, or to commence litigation on teachers' salaries, in preference to other tasks which might have been undertaken? The wisdom of the choices made over the years by the Association and its counsel is to some extent proved by the predominantly favorable results. Viewing the record in its entirety, one is impressed by the high sense of strategy which has been employed. The Association has shown prudence where prudence was warranted; it has also exhibited daring frequently justified by the event. The record to date justifies faith in the future.

Iron Housing Ring

(*Continued from page* 205)

B. Dickerson, Lycurgus Conner and William C. Martin. The court witnessed a private showing of the picture and expert testimony was produced in the person of three University of Chicago professors of sociology and political science to show that the picture did hold Negroes up to contempt and derision.

Professor Hubert Blumer pointed out specific scenes which were most damaging to respect for Negroes; Professor Louis Wirth stated emphatically that the picture showed falsely what were purported to be facsimiles of actual historical events; and Professor Harold F. Gosnell stated that the picture was a factor in inciting the Chicago race riots of 1919. In his opinion Judge Donald S. McKinley felt that to suppress the picture entirely would be a violation of the privilege of free expressions of views and that the picture was a historical document and those who wished to see it should be allowed to do so. The branch is planning an appeal to the State's Attorney to use his power under the Illinois statute above referred to, to ban the picture entirely. He has already shown an interest in the case. It is hoped, however, that with the large Chicago market restricted, the producers, who are planning to remake the picture into a modernized version, will be discouraged.

Horns and Tails

(*Continued from page* 204)

Hezekiah stood up and also stood his "defense" up, though he still held on tight to the baby, with one hand. Hezekiah's predicament made his moon-eyes enormous and fixed. He couldn't betray Crawford without betraying the rest of the group. Besides he liked Crawford—if it weren't for that horns and tail business. Yet if Crawford were going to come back and cut—? Hezekiah stared straight ahead of him as his befuddled mind refused to give him an answer.

"God a' mighty answer me," demanded Ryan impatiently, "I ask you a question and you go into a trance."

Suddenly, like a ray of sunlight striking through a cloud, Martha's words, as if he were really hearing them for the first time, cut across Hezekiah's fears and doubts: "It ain't so, Hezekiah, it ain't so."

Hezekiah took a deep breath and said: "Gor a' mighty, Massa, no, Ah ain't seed none, foh if I'd seed one you wouldn't kotch dis darkey heah 'cause you done tole me dem Yankees got horns and tails an' is debbils, an' I'se afeared ob debbils. If I'd a seed one a' comin' foh me, I'd a died sho'."

"Doggone my luck," sputtered Ryan.

NEXT MONTH

29th Annual Education Number

PICTURES AND NEWS OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

War and Dictatorship

***Defender*, Chicago, Illinois**

DICTATORSHIP has come to England. Dictatorship has come out of the imperialist war which British leaders said was for democracy. Dictatorship has come in the name of democracy. Into the hands of Churchill has been placed power equal to that wielded by Hitler. The long established, though unwritten, British constitution has gone by the board.

May we not look at this picture from another angle. Out of a war the Chamberlains hailed as a war to save democracy, we get: not freedoom for Irish, not liberty for Indians, not democracy for Africans and West Indians, but dictatorship for Englishmen. This is a strange transformation.

Now of course, two dictatorships, England and Germany are locked in a death struggle. Are we childish enough to believe that to get democracy we must give up the civil liberties and constitutional rights for which we have for centuries been fighting? We do not believe the road to democracy must lead through such a government as Churchill has erected.

We believe that freedom for Irishmen, East and West Indians would see such a resurgence of faith in democracy and peace that Hitler would soon be swept back into the boundaries of the German Reich.

We believe that if West Indians were told they were at liberty to create a federation of the West Indian peoples, a government of their own, for themselves and their posterity, such a flood of loyalty and love for the "mother" country would go forth that the ranks of the liberation army would be filled overnight.

Here is the course man must follow in fighting fascism. More freedom to the people. More power to those whose lives have been warped and crushed by the restrictive influence of racial hatreds and bestial and inhuman exploitation.

France preceded England on the road to dictatorship. Here too, democracy was freely used. Yet, millions of black men now dying in France have left behind them fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers to whom the word democracy is but a wishful dream.

Keep America out of this war. That is the lesson of France and England. Safeguard our civil rights as you would guard the apple of your eye. This is the road to peace. As Negro people, we have a great contribution to make to our country and to civilization if we pursue this course. The future belongs to those who fully understand the present.

There shall be no dictatorship in America.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress last week for an appropriation of over a billion dollars to bring the armed forces of this country up to war time strength . . . raises the question, what does the New Deal propose with reference to the Negro as a soldier? The policy of the government at Washington in this respect isn't at all clear. During the past seven years the Negro has been more of a nonentity in the Army and Navy than at any time in our history.

In enlarging the Army to a million men, it seems to us that the Negro should have a proportionate share of the new recruits.

There are thousands of unemployed Negro youths who could profit by the discipline of military training but no reasonable government should expect them to rally to the flag, if they are to be limited to labor battalions and service units in the Navy and Air Corps. . . . New York, N. Y. *Age*.

When times are good, America is a white man's country. When war threatens it's "our" country! . . . Minneapolis, Minn., *Spokesman*.

With the war situation becoming daily more and more grave, proposed federal anti-lyching legislation has been put aside evidently to the pleasure of some of our legislators and some individuals—but this should not be. It should not be permitted; the sponsors should push the bill to the fore and have the intentions of the lawmakers declared either for or against. It should not be allowed to just wither away.

Appreciating the threat and menace of the German invading hordes and realizing that we should look to our national defenses, we should also realize that a part of that defense should come about through harmony within the nation. While German aggression threatens the liberty of the civilized world, lynch rule threatens not only liberty but the lives of millions of American Negroes. . . . Louisville, Ky., *Defender*.

One of the most enlightened pieces of legislation passed by the U. S. Senate in a long time is the $60,000,000 hospital construction program recommended by President Roosevelt.

The money is to be spent over a period of six years to build hospitals in various communities to be leased either to states or cities.

This program will provide an estimated 25,000 or 30,000 additional hospital beds primarily and chiefly in rural and "economically distressed areas."

Since assurances have been given that this money will be equitably distributed, the program will be one that will greatly benefit Negroes. . . . Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*.

Since last January, when the anti-lynching bill was passed by the House, the Senate has made no move to push the measure to a vote.

Pulling strings to find out when the bill was coming up was Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

Ducking all efforts to get him into a conference on the bill was Senate majority leader Alben Barkley (Dem., Ky.).

Walter pleaded and Alben dodged until Walter sent words of the hide-and-seek to a weekly newspaper in Alben's home state.

Dear Alben then awoke, denied he was dodging, declared he was just busy and that he hadn't pushed the anti-lynching bill because he knew it couldn't be passed without gagging a Dixie filibuster which he hasn't the heart to try. . . . Baltimore, Md., *Afro-American*.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

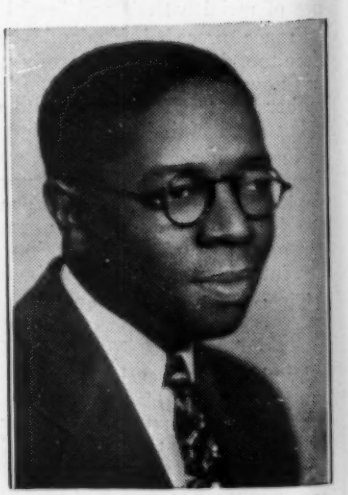
Pictures of Officers and Workers in the Association

St. Louis, Mo.—*Sitting, left to right: Joseph L. McLemore, co-chairman; Mrs. Kitty Hall, head of the women's division; Sidney R. Redmond, president; John A. Davis, co-chairman. Standing: Henry D. Espey, and Leonard J. Harris, head of the men's division*

MRS. PEARL J. BENNETT, Chairman Membership Campaign, Baton Rouge, La.

F. W. RUCKER, President Newark, Ohio

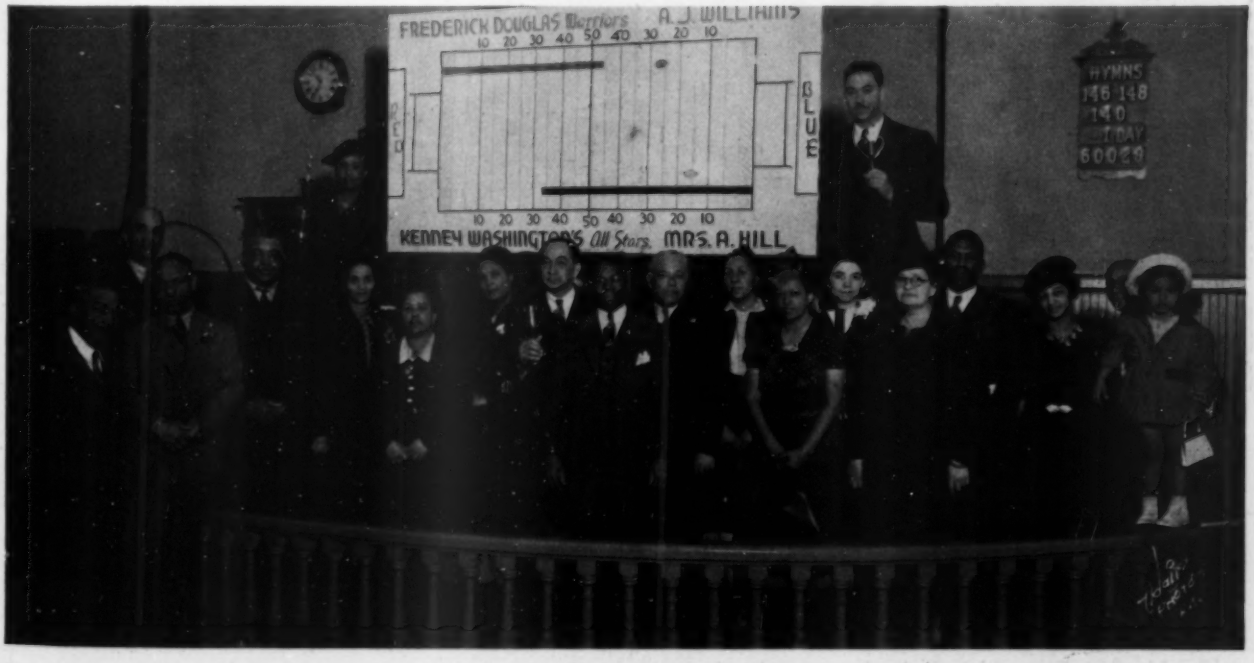
MRS. GLADYS S. WILLIAMS, Chairman Stop Lynching Button Campaign Florence, S. C.



GEORGE A. BEAVERS, Chairman Membership Campaign Los Angeles, Cal.

Scurlock

Washington, D. C., *PANCAS—First row, left to right: Mrs. Authorine Willis, Mrs. Louise G. Harvey, Mrs. Mary F. Brice, Mrs. Ida G. Reid, Joseph Harris, PANCA president, Vernon Booker, vice-president, Mabel Madden, Pauline Wallace, Flaxie Pinkett, Lauretta Wallace. Second row: Dorothy A. James, Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee, Mrs. Roberta C. Hastie, Mrs. Carrie Bester, Dr. Amanda V. G. Hilyer, Mrs. Marian Seymour, Mrs. Gertrude H. Williams, James Ward, Mrs. Henrietta Houston. Third row: Dr. C. Herbert Marshall, F. Louise Madella, George E. Brice, Jerry Williams. Fourth row: Mrs. Willa C. Ransom and Mrs. Pauline Marshall. Pancas are those who equal or exceed quotas in membership drives*



Los Angeles, Calif., *campaign workers—Front row: Rev. S. M. Beane, Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., president. Second row: W. D. Smith, Arthur Cole, Mrs. Mary Grimes, Mrs. Lillie Baker, Mrs. Gertrude Hicks, Dr. H. C. Hudson, Winner Team Honors, George A. Beavers, Jr., campaign chairman, C. E. McKinney, Zella M. Taylor, secretary, Irene Bradford, Alice Cunningham, Mrs. Sallie Richardson, Thomas J. Duckett, Noreen Forney, Samuel W. Thompson, Paula Williams. Top row: Mrs. A. Hill, winner division honors, A. J. Williams, winner individual honors*

Gets 25th Spingarn Medal

Blackstone

LOUIS T. WRIGHT, M.D.

The 25th Spingarn medal, awarded each year to "the man or woman of African descent and American citizenship, who shall have made the highest achievement during the preceding year or years in any honorable field of human endeavor," will be presented to Dr. Wright June 20 at the 31st annual conference of the NAACP in Philadelphia, Pa. The speech of award will be made by Dr. Russell L. Cecil, eminent New York City physician and professor of medicine at Cornell.

The citation of the award committee follows:

"Spingarn Medalist, for his contributions to the healing of mankind and for his courageous and uncompromising position held often in the face of bitter attack, that Negro men of medicine should measure up to the most absolute standards of technical excellence and, as a corollary, that having done so, Negro medical men and nurses should be accorded every opportunity to serve, without discrimination on account of race or color. He has been a consistent and persistent foe of every form of segregation and denial of opportunity and has played a major part in the establishment of a yardstick of medical proficiency which has done much to change the attitude of both the white and Negro medical world and of the public at large.

"But Dr. Wright has not confined his efforts to important crusades for principle. He has made distinguished contributions to medical and surgical development. He was chosen as an outstanding authority to write the section on skull fractures in 'The Standard Treatment of Fractures' edited by Dr. Charles L. Scudder. In that contribution Dr. Wright broke new ground and successfully challenged and disproved the soundness of previously held theories on the treatment of skull fractures. He invented a brace for handling broken necks. He has made an intensive study of rectal strictures. He originated the intradermal method of vaccination against Smallpox. His distinguished work as a surgeon led to the color line being broken in the American College of Surgeons through his election as a Fellow in 1934. During his service as Surgical Director at Harlem Hospital in New York City he greatly improved standards and lowered the mortality rate.

"As an officer in the United States Army during the World War his was one of the outstanding careers.

"Scientist, public servant, indefatigable and uncompromising fighter for complete justice and democracy in all avenues of life as well as in the field of medicine, Dr. Wright is a distinguished citizen of America by any standard and without regard to race, creed, or color."

MRS. M. E. BLOODWORTH, Chairman
Christmas Seal Sale
El Paso, Texas

Dallas, Tex.—*The Rev. Mr. Estell and Prof. Porter return from Washington where they testified for the anti-lynching bill. Front row, left to right: Callie Hicks, Charles R. Graggs, Mercedes Kelly, Rev. E. C. Estell, Mrs. E. C. Estell, Prof. G. F. Porter, Mrs. J. G. Hardin, William P. Vaughn. Back row: Rev. J. M. Fountain, Mrs. L. A. Blackburn, Hardy Shaw, Fred D. Jones, Mrs. M. D. Tolbert, Dr. B. E. Howell*

Duluth, Minn.—*Officers of the membership drive. First row, left to right: Mrs. George Dozier, treasurer; George Dozier, secretary, Mrs. E. H. Gater, chairman of education committee. Second row: R. J. Simmons, president; Lee G. Wiley, Membership chairman; George H. Adams, chairman of the board; Frank Franklin, finance chairman*

MRS. W. A. McDONALD, Chairman
Christmas Seal Sale
Albuquerque, New Mexico

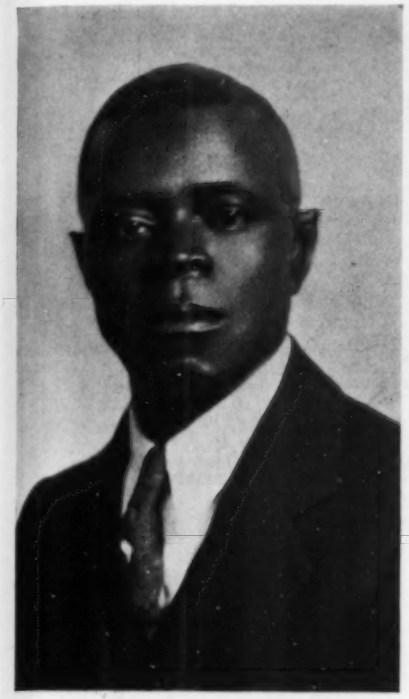
The annual youth conference of the Montclair, N. J., council, May 19, 1940.

***Roanoke, Va.**—Front row, left to right: Mrs. B. Coles, Miss J. K. Spencer, Mrs. H. Downing. Second row, Dr. H. T. Penn, P. J. Preston, Richard Birkes, J. A. Reynolds, president, W. C. Rose, secretary, and Y. Hutsona. Third row: D. D. Williams, R. W. Hall, Rev. P. S. Mosley.*

A. D. TORREY, Captain
Three membership drives
St. Louis, Mo.

***Pasadena, Calif.**—Members of the executive committee photographed after the Lincoln-Douglass banquet. The Rev. Karl Downs; Mrs. Louise W. Watkins, who delivered the Lincoln address; B. M. Durham, vice-president; Edna L. Griffin, president; Cecil Davis; Mrs. Carolyn Green, chairman of membership committee; Mrs. Mary M. Durham, chairman of social committee; John Wright, treasurer; Mrs. Lillian Ford; Mrs. W. Miller Kelly, secretary; William L. Mills, Jr., delivered Douglass address. Other members of the board who do not appear are J. H. Billups, Rev. W. A. Wilkins, Mrs. A. Brownlee, W. B. Tipton, Mrs. Georgia Kelles, Mrs. Carrie Paulson, Mrs. Corrine Hicks, Mrs. Harold S. Hulls, and Grace Robinson.*

We were unable to use all the pictures sent us and some will appear in the August issue.



LEWIS DAVIDSON, President
Bronx, N. Y.

MRS. A. HILL
Her division raised $1,116 in the Los Angeles drive

DR. GEORGE D. FLEMMINGS, President
Ft. Worth, Texas

Richmond, Va., campaign workers—In front, left to right: Mrs. Ruth Taylor, campaign secretary; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, campaign director. First row: Roscoe Jackson (not shown), Dr. W. L. Ransome, G. B. Winston, Mrs. Ethel Henley, Mrs. R. B. Atkins, Rev. W. B. Ball, Dr. Leon Reid, Mesdames Janie Hayes, Frances Roane, Hattie Hayes, Nina Kenney, Erma Harris, Esther Price. Second row: Mrs. Mary Moody, Gladys Holmes, Mrs. Bertha Hansome, Mrs. Eliza Cooke, Clarence Robinson, Henry Hinnant, Lucille Carter, Mrs. Lottye H. Lewis, John S. Collins, Mesdames Louise Harris, Senora B. Lawson, and Odessa Randolph, George M. Booker. Third row: Mesdames Bernice G. Vaughn, Laretta Williams, McD. Brown, Addie Johnson, Rose E. James, Milay Smith, Selena White, and Louise Brown, Audrey Bradford, Josephine Carter, Mrs. Nina Morton, Mary A. Munford, D. W. Washington, Rev. C. C. Knight, Charles Burrell, Paul Morton, Rev. E. B. Watson

WE WANT RELIANCE AND TRUTH
STOP THIS KLAN FILM
WE WANT GOOD WILL NO RACIAL HATRED
WE WANT RELIANCE AND TRUTH
STOP THIS KLAN FILM

Some of the members of the Minneapolis, Minn., branch and of the Civil Rights Committee who served on recent "Birth of a Nation" picket lines. Left to right: Mrs. Gertrude Boddy, Bennie Kin, Preston Childress, De Velma Newman, Herbert Howell, Eunice Brown, Mildred Strader, Rev. C. F. Stewart, president of the Minneapolis branch, Cecil E. Newman, William Strader, Helen Smith, Mary Sutherland, Hilda Moses, Marguerite Combs, Milford Sutherland, secretary of the Civil Rights Committee, Elmer Childress, and Frances Brown

GEORGE A. BLAKEY, Chairman
Legal Redress committee
Chicago, Illinois

REV. ROY L. YOUNG, President
Meridian, Mississippi

Branch News

Alabama: The Mobile branch presented E. Frederic Morrow, branch coordinator, as speaker at the Metropolitan Church in April, when he was there to conduct a membership campaign.

Arkansas: The Warren branch sponsored a rally and presentation of charter meeting on May 5 at the Bethel church. An address was given by Mrs. L. M. Porter, and the charter was presented by Mrs. M. G. Moore. The branch has grown from 61 to 108 members since its organization in February. Officers are Dr. J. A. White, president; James O. Wamble, vice-president; F. C. Culbreth, secretary; Prof. W. T. Wilson, treasurer; and Dr. Rhineheart, chairman of the executive committee.

Delaware: The Wilmington branch met May 29 to discuss committee reports and plans for the annual conference at Philadelphia.

Illinois: Emma Herndon, assistant secretary of the Champaign-Urbana branch represented the branch at the "March for Jobs" convention recently conducted in Springfield. Delegates to the Illinois state conference at Bloomington were, Grady Jordan, president; William Prince, vice-president; and Blanche Jamerson, secretary. James Lawson, U. I. student was one of the speakers on the conference program.

At the mass meeting held in May by the Moline branch, Harry M. McCaskrin of Rock Island, state representative, was the guest speaker, and W. M. Bishop presented the charter to the branch.

Indiana: Robert Anglin, president, has been elected delegate from the Evansville branch, to the Philadelphia conference June 18–23. A committee appointed to make a survey of Negroes who would accept employment in industrial plants in that vicinity, if it were available consists of Rev. L. S. Smith, Rev. I. C. Smith, Dr. E. M. Bailey and T. B. Neeley.

Iowa: At the May meeting of the Keokuk branch in Pilgrim Rest Church, M. F. Johnson, of Toledo, Ohio addressed the gathering on economic conditions. Mrs. K. S. Myers, Mrs. Susie R. Draine, Mrs. P. A. Jones, Thelma Seals and Mrs. C. D. Bland reported the Iowa senators stand on the anti-lynching bill. The education committee reported the condition in the junior high school has been satisfactorily adjusted. Mrs. Bland gave a report of the meeting in Des Moines to form a state conference. Music for the program was furnished by Richard Smith, and Lenna Shanninghouse and Mae Z. Bland, accompanists.

The membership drive of the Marshalltown branch was closed with a program at Cumberland church. Attorney J. R. Morris, was guest speaker, and Bur Reibsamen, republican candidate for county auditor, explained the sample ballot. Besides group singing, the program was enlivened by a song by Harriett Maxwell accompanied by Carlyn Brown.

Rabbi Harold Gordon was recently guest speaker at the Waterloo branch. His topic was "Minorities in a Democracy."

The Ottumwa branch reports a very full program for the May meeting. Following the usual items of business, it was voted that Harry Zeffern be made chairman of the legal redress committee, and Mrs. Miller and Eugene Wilson were appointed to serve on the committee. The labor committee reported an appointment with the school board to request the employment of Negro teachers in the schools. Delegates to the state conference of branches (Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Elliot) gave reports on that event, as did also the president and secretary. It was urged that the membership drive be pushed.

Roy Winston and others from the Ottumwa branch recently met with members of the community of Albia at the Commercial club for the purpose of organizing a local branch.

"Race discrimination" was condemned by the tri-city branch in a report regarding objections filed by a group of Moline prop-

(*Continued on page 221*)

Book Reviews

PRIMITIVE ECONOMICS

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES. By Melville J. Herskovits. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940. XII+492+XXVIII pp. $4.50.

"The aim of this book," writes the author, "is to present some of the available information concerning the economic life of primitive peoples, to consider some of the questions in economic science that are susceptible of examination through the use of these data, and to suggest lines of attack which may profitably be defined for future research in the field of comparative economics." Hence the book has a challenging value for both anthropologists and economists. It opens up to the economist a new field for the testing of his theories, and to the anthropologist it suggests new areas for research. Economists have restricted their interests almost exclusively to the phenomena of our own culture, and largely to this culture as it exists today, except when they venture into the field of economic history. Therefore their economic "laws" are primarily statistical averages based upon "a single case." Whenever an economist has ventured to depict primitive man his theories show no relation to the already ascertained facts of primitive life. They are largely fairy tales. Witness the belief of the economists in the sequential development of the economic stages of hunting, cattle-raising, and agriculture. On the other hand the anthropologist, despite the wideranging wealth of his data, has neglected to treat economic facts as such, or to interpret his economic data in such a manner as would tend to make them useful to an economist. He has failed to distinguish between technology and economics. Study of the fabrication of tools was much more important than any consideration of the value of these tools or the use to which they were going to be put in the social organism. Unfortunately, when the anthropologist did began to consider the economics of primitive peoples, his studies, though an advance on previous researches, were, because of the attention which he gave to the minutiae of tradition, hardly economics at all as economists understand the term. "Tersely stated, it may be observed that if for the earlier students economics was technology, for these later ones it is garden magic and gift exchange."

Much of current economic theory is, of course, inadaptable to research in primitive societies; nevertheless, many of the suggestions of the economists may yield rich profits when applied by the ethnologist to the study of primitive life. The position of the institutionalists really leads to an ethnological position; hence economists who approach their materials from the institutionalists point of view can give valuable help to anthropologists who are concerned with the economic data of primitive societies.

From this explanation of the relation of economics to anthropology our author proceeds to demolish some of the myths about primitive economic life. A careful study of the way primitive man works, his methods of production, and the manner in which he exchanges and distributes his economic product shows that primitive societies differ little in their basic economic patterns from our own. They are simpler, that's all. "Except for the business cycle itself, practically every economic mechanism and institution known to us is found somewhere in the primitive world." Primitive communism he proves to be a myth. No doubt the most striking differences between our society and those of primitive peoples are those between population sizes, degree of contact with the outside world, degree of specialization, degree of emphasis on markets and mediums of exchange, and the nonexistence in primitive society of what we have come to call "business enterprise." "The incentives to labor and the return primitive man expects from his work have been found to show in their broader manifestations little significant difference when compared with those drives with which we are familiar. What does differ in primitive cultures from our own society is the psychological compensations enjoyed by those who live under these simpler economies. For, unlike our workers, the primitive laborer works mainly at his own tasks and, more importantly, on his own initiative."

Throughout the book runs the emphasis that primitive man is primitive only in the sense of being pre-literate and that his culture in terms of its own aims and achievements and the human satisfactions which it brings to its members can hardly justify our current belief that primitive man is basically inferior to his civilized brother. This is a thought-provoking book, one fruitful in economic, anthropological, and social suggestions not only to the economic and anthropological expert, but to the intelligent layman as well.

JAMES W. IVY

Letters from Readers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:

It is tragic that young college Negroes should be exposed to such Uncle Tomism as that revealed by Louis T. Achille, a Howard University professor, in his article in the June number. His piece might well have been penned by a French government official or one of the big stockholders in a corporation exploiting the black, brown or yellow serfs languishing under the heel of French imperialism.

While it may be "too late to prevent French imperialism," it is certainly not too late to fight and try to destroy French imperialism which has debauched and decimated the population of French Africa.

Achille holds that the dark colonials "would overwhelmingly decide" to fight for France, but how could this be determined when they have no vote? His assertion that French colonialism "has proved itself not to be an evil to the colonial population" is an Uncle Tom statement contrary to the testimony of numerous white French travelers.

No system that denies a people a voice in their government can be termed good. Taxation without representation was not good enough for the American colonists and is certainly not good enough for the over-taxed, malnourished, alcohol-and opium-stuffed serfs of France in Africa and Indo-China.

Achille asserts that the African natives have "rushed to the colors" of France, but did they have any alternative? White travelers in the colonies have told how black recruits are lassooed into service. Who is telling the truth?

Revealing in every line his sense of racial inferiority, Achille believes that these French Africans who founded and administered huge political states when France was a conglomeration of warring counties are now incapable of self-government. And he would deny them self-rule because they do not speak the French jargon and are unfamiliar with the long chronicle of robbery, murder, lechery and swinery called French history. These natives have their own history, their own traditions and principles, their own language. What need to study and accept those of decadent France?

This man is a miseducated lackey of the imperialists who squeeze dollars out of the hides of his race; a man conditioned to befoul his own nest. In asserting that the people of Alaska and Puerto Rico should not vote for President because their history and traditions are alien to the convict-descended Americans, Achille accepts the Nazi blood-brotherhood plague as a basis for government. His expressed belief in the "general unreadiness" of colonial peoples to partake of full citizenship is exactly that of the Southern Crackers, and he finds himself walking hand-in-hand with the Ku Klux Klan. He justifies the submergence of the voteless colonials on the ground that they are illiterate. If French civilization is so superior, why has it not made these people literate?

It is Achille's thesis that a black French colonial must become a lampblacked Frenchman before being eligible to citizenship. This is a mockery of democracy. He believes that, "French life is superior to their own, in many respects," without specifying and without justification.

The points raised by George Padmore in his various articles are proved by the Uncle Tom statements of Louis Achille and Mercer Cook whose asinine defense of French colonialism enlivened the May *Crisis*.

This is international Uncle Tomism with a vengeance.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

June 5, 1940

College News

(*Continued from page* 198)

the college preparatory department.

Fifty-nine seniors received degrees at **Knoxville College's** 65th commencement on June 11. Dr. Howard Thurman of Howard University delivered the main address. This is Knoxville's largest graduating class.

Tennessee A. & I. State College held its 28th commencement exercises on May 31.

The Commencement address at **Cheyney State Teachers College** on May 30 was delivered by Dr. Francis B. Haas, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Penna. Degrees were given 28 seniors.

Degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of science were awarded to 44 seniors at **Morehouse College.** The principal address was delivered by Rev. Samuel Macaulay Lindsay, pastor of the Brookline Baptist Church in Massachusetts.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

Responding to frequent inquiries, THE CRISIS carries herewith the names and addresses with telephone numbers of some of the 1300 colored attorneys in the United States, purely as a service to those seeking such information. THE CRISIS does not maintain a legal bureau, as many readers seem to think, and the N.A.A.C.P. concerns itself only with cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizenship rights. Lawyers whose names do not appear below are requested to write to THE CRISIS.

ALABAMA

Arthur D. Shores
701-2 Colored Masonic Building, Birmingham, Ala.
Telephones: Office, 3-6981; Res., 6-4924

ARKANSAS

Scipio A. Jones,
201 Century Building, Little Rock, Ark.
Telephone: 4-0907

CALIFORNIA

Thomas L. Griffith, Jr.
1105 East Vernon, Los Angeles, Calif.
Telephone: Century 2-9078

Walter Lear Gordon, Jr.,
4071 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Telephone: ADams 6000

DELAWARE

Louis L. Redding
1002 French Street, Wilmington, Del.
Telephone: 3-1924

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Thomas P. Bomar
1944 9th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
Telephone: Decatur 4314 & 2353

GEORGIA

Austin T. Walden
428 Herndon Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.
Telephone: Walnut 3536

ILLINOIS

Thomas J. Price
104 East 51st Street, Chicago, Ill.
Telephone: Oakland 1755

C. Francis Stradford,
12 West Garfield Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Telephone: Drexel 171

KENTUCKY

Charles W. Anderson, Jr. & Prentice Thomas
602 West Walnut St., Louisville, Ky.
Telephone: Wabash 4765

MICHIGAN

Oscar W. Baker and Oscar W. Baker, Jr.
506-9 Bay City Bank Building, Bay City, Mich.
Telephones: Office: 286; Res. 3404

James D. Lee
2010 St. Antoine Street, Detroit, Mich.
Telephone: Clifford 0093

Judson B. Powell
405 Gratiot Ave., Detroit, Mich.
Telephone: Clifford 0274

Floyd H. Skinner
Michigan at Monroe Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Telephone: 8-9042

MISSOURI

Ellis S. Outlaw
3140 Pine Street, St. Louis, Mo.
Telephones: JE 8257; JE 8381

R. Edwin Parker
3970½ Finney Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

NEW JERSEY

Robert Queen
70 Spring Street, Trenton, N. J.
Telephone: 2-3034

OHIO

Chester K. Gillespie
416 Hickox Bldg., Cleveland, O.
Telephone: Cherry 1835

PENNSYLVANIA

Raymond Pace Alexander
1900 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rittenhouse 9960, 9961, 9962, 9963

Thomas E. Barton
527 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Telephone: Grant 3137

Theron B. Hamilton
806 Wylie Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Telephone: Grant 3137; Residence: Schenly 3298

Theodore O. Spaulding
425 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Telephone: Pennypacker 4834

TENNESSEE

R. Bartley J. Campbelle
419 Fourth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tenn.
Telephone: 6-5780

TEXAS

H. W. Hatten
1812 Granbury Avenue, Fort Worth, Tex.
Telephone: 2-3701

VIRGINIA

W. W. Forman
932 Church St., Norfolk, Va.
Telephone: Dial 2-7237

WEST VIRGINIA

Harry J. Capehart & Leon P. Miller
18 Virginia Avenue, Welch, W. Va.
Telephone: 289

The summer school at **Atlanta University** will extend from June 10 to July 19, inclusive. It will have a distinguished faculty and a wide variety of courses.

The Rev. W. A. C. Hughes, Director of Negro Work, Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, Methodist Church, delivered the commencement address at **Morgan State College.** Diplomas were presented by Governor O'Conor of Maryland.

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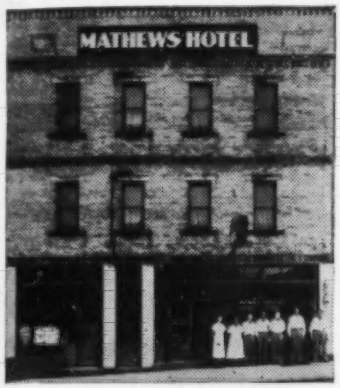

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Branch News

(*Continued from page* 218)

erty owners with the city council against the purchase of property by a colored family. The report said that investigation showed that Negro homes do not cause depreciation in real estate values.

Louisiana: Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, of the national office, was principal speaker in May for the New Orleans branch. His subject was "How to Obtain the Vote for the Negro in the South."

Michigan: The Grand Rapids branch sponsored a dance with music by Bradshaw, "King of Jitterbugs," at the Regent Roof Garden on May 30 to defray expenses of their delegates to the annual conference.

The Detroit branch recently sent a letter of congratulations under the signature of the president, Dr. J. J. McClendon, to the Detroit Free Press upon its sale to Mr. Knight. The Free Press has been known for its very fair attitude toward Negro citizens of Detroit.

Minnesota: The St. Paul and Minneapolis branches jointly sponsored a gigantic Royalty contest. The contest which was open to all Twin City men and women culminated in a gala Coronation Ball at the Junior Pioneer Hall in St. Paul on June 14. Plans called for a fanfare of trumpets as the royal pair took their seats on the throne to be crowned "Supreme Rulers of

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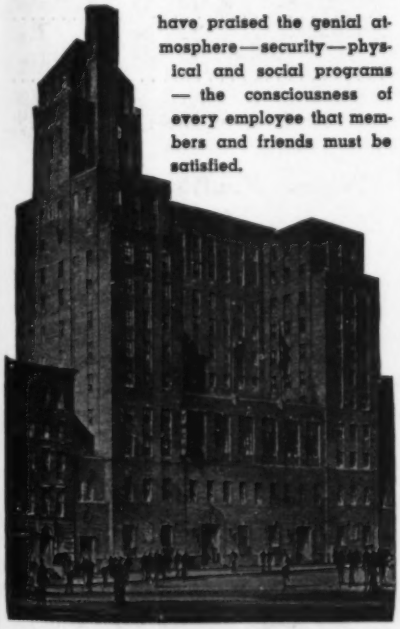

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READ AND ACT

The National Negro Insurance Association reported for 1938:

—Assets of $13,876,788
—Income of $13,251,407.43
—Insurance in force: $265,856,625
—Policies in force: 1,676,854
—Employment: 8,150 Negroes

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the Kingdom of the Twin Cities," and thereafter to rule over the 1st coronation ball.

Missouri: The campaign for the reorganization of the St. Joseph branch was successfully ended in May with a dinner, at which it was reported that 195 memberships had been obtained in the drive. Mrs. Lucille Thompson and Holland Alexander were leaders of the blue and silverstreak teams, respectively. Oscar Smith and Mrs. Flora Washington secured the largest number of memberships. Dr. W. A. Simms was elected president at an organization meeting; William Nichols is vice-president; Mrs. C. H. Nichols, secretary; and Mr. Smith, treasurer.

New Jersey: Dean Pickens was guest speaker on June 2 at the meeting of the Pleasantville branch. The following appointments have been made by Roscoe Carroll, president: membership, Mrs. M. Mitchell; finance, John A. Parker; publicity, H. A. Ferrell; labor and industry, Samuel Harmon; education, Mrs. B. Sousa; entertainment, Elizabeth Pride; and youth council, J. Deloin Rice.

The Bayonne branch, of which Dr. D. G. Morris is president, conducted its membership drive in May with a goal of 500 members.

The New Jersey conference of branches held its meeting May 25 in Bridgeton. Discussions included Dr. Anthony's review of the Cranbury case, Rev. James Robinson, youth council director, and Rev. E. N. Thornley's topic of church cooperation with the NAACP. Dr. Leonard G. Scott extended greetings of the local branch, and Dr. J. C. McKelvie, installed the new officers.

The Ladies auxiliary of the Morristown branch has resumed its activities.

The Paterson branch sponsored a public rally in May, presenting George B. Murphy, Jr., who spoke on the anti-lynching bill, and George Surosky who represented the mayor. Solos were rendered by Dorothy Bronson, accompanied by Bessie Brown. Mrs. Fannie H. Curtis has been recently re-elected president of the branch.

New Mexico: H. L. LaGrone, secretary, reports that the Albuquerque branch has given a CRISIS subscription to the Alburquerque city library. It has been suggested that this is a good idea for all branches: giving subscriptions to strategic persons or institutions, who might, on learning more about colored people of the country, be led to take an interest in the work of the Association.

New York: Dr. Arthur Williams, president of the White Plains branch, addressed the New Rochelle branch in May. A donation to the Iron Lung fund was voted and ratified. The final event of the membership campaign will be on July 9 at St. Catherine's church, when speakers will be city Judge T. N. Fasso and Dalmus Steele, New York City marshal.

An address on the "Negro Woman in the Field of Medicine" was the feature of a recent meeting of the White Plains branch. Mrs. Ethel Robinson gave a reading and Ruth Collins sang solos on the program of which Mrs. Carrie Lawrence was in charge. The branch has also recently written letters of inquiry and protest to the Willow Brook Dairy company and Krugs Baking Co. on the report that these businesses had refused delivery of their products to a resident of Colonial Heights, North Yonkers. Information was that the cause for such denial of service was the fact that the resident is a Negro and the neighbors in the immediate vicinity have protested to said companies against such service. It was pointed out that Negroes in other communities are being serviced by the same companies, and they and others would resent most emphatically any such policy of discrimination.

The Mamaroneck branch held its first mass meeting June 2, presenting as speakers, George B. Murphy, Jr.; Dr. Arthur Williams, president of the White Plains branch; William Bradford, Willis Robinson, and J. Rhoades, local members. Entertainment included vocal selection by Mrs. D. Springsteen and Lillian Seely.

A plea to Mayor LaGuardia has been sent by the Jamaica branch asking for an investigation of juvenile delinquency on the South Side, including its effects on Public school 40. It was pointed out that kid gangs have flourished without hindrance of police. At the mass meeting called for this discussion, and which more than 200 attended, the relationship between juvenile delinquency and housing was considered. Negro residents of Jamaica have been unable to gain entrance in the new housing project in that area, although discrimination has been disclaimed by the authorities.

Pennsylvania: The Norristown branch reports cooperation with the Montgomery County Housing Council in an effort to have a federal low-cost housing project built there. Dr. Harry Barnes, only Negro member of the Philadelphia county housing authority, was guest speaker at an open forum on housing in May. Mrs. H. F. Reid, chairman of the health committee, and Carolyn Davenport and Susan A. Corley sponsored a health forum at the Siloam church. Misses Davenport and Corley have been elected as delegates to the annual conference in Philadelphia.

South Carolina: The South Carolina conference of branches met in Columbia in May, at which time Dean Pickens was main speaker. Rev. Wright of Cheraw is president of the conference.

Tennessee: The Chattanooga branch of 190 members, headed by Dr. P. A. Stephens, was presented with its charter at a ceremony in May by Professor T. E. Cravens.

Texas: About 1200 people attended the Texas conference of branches in May, and heard speakers including Thurgood Marshall of the national office, H. M. Morgan, state president, and A. M. Smith, state secretary. The main topic of discussion was the right of Negroes to vote in the primaries.

Virginia: Delegates elected to be sent to the national conference are: Dr. J. M. Tinsley, C. F. Foster, Mrs. Erma Harris, Wiley A. Hall, Mrs. Janie Hayes, Rev. W. B. Ball. Alternates are: M. S. Collins, Roscoe Jackson, Mrs. M. M. Ransome, Rev. C. C. Knight, Thomas Johnson and Mrs. Salena White. Details of the membership campaign will appear in the next issue.

BEAUTIFUL CHILD CONTEST

Entry Blank

Name of Child..... (first name middle name last name)

Age: (Years, months and days).....

Exact Color: .....Color of Eyes: .....

Color of Hair: .....Exact Height: .....

Exact Weight: .....Date of Birth: .....

Mother's Name: .....Father's Name: .....

Father's Occupation: .....

Mother's Occupation: .....

Address: .....

City or Town: .....State: .....

Note: Contest begins May 1, 1940, and ends August 1, 1940. No photographs will be returned unless accompanied by proper postage and self-addressed container. Photographs should be large size and slick finish for good reproduction. Entries received with postmark after midnight August 1, 1940 will *not* be considered.

Each issue of *The Crisis* (June, July and August) will contain six photographs of the most beautiful children selected so far and $1.00 will be paid for each one selected and published.

The September 1940 *Crisis* will carry the photograph of the Grand Prize Winner ($25.00) on the Cover. Inside will appear the second choice ($10.00), the third choice ($5.00), the fourth choice ($3.00), the fifth choice ($2.00) and the sixth choice ($1.00).

The address of *The Crisis* is 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.